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Preview of World War III

Truman blueprints U.S. police state for a hot war

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON

THE Truman Administration is keeping quietly simmering on the White House pot a recipe for total mobilization of the U. S. into a police state.

Investigation by the GUARDIAN of the policies and plans of the National Security Resources Board reveals that the plan is far more sweeping than the one for which Bernard M. Baruch is yammering in the public prints. Baruch probably is piqued because his own formula was not accepted by Mr. Truman.

Burden of the Baruch bellyache is that we are heading for another war and have no legislation on the statute books for an emergency America.

THE POLICE STATE: One year ago, the Security Board came up with a formula under the guidance of its chairman, Arthur A. Hill, president of the Atlantic Greyhound Corp. and director of half a dozen huge corporations.

The Hill plan wrapped up wage controls, price controls, materials, allocation, priorities and manpower controls in one little package. Its civilian defense code would give Federal and state police absolute control over every aspect of life.

It was too much even for Harry S. Truman to send up to Congress — though he had once demanded the draft of all railroad strikers. So Hill resigned. Truman appointed John R. Steelman, Presidential assistant, to head the board temporarily.

Steelman has worked up a scheme that makes Baruch and Hill look like pikers. And Truman is not so worried this time. The Steelman plan is so simple and so deadly that it could transform the U. S. into a fascist state overnight—given a first class war scare.

JOHN R. STEELMAN
Baruch was a piker

- It retains all the important features of the Hill plan except that it does not provide for immediate draft of all manpower and womanpower in the country upon the outbreak of hostilities.
- It does impose manpower controls more severe than any dreamed of. You would not be able to stay in your job, if Washington decided it was not essential. You would not be free to leave it, if Washington said it WAS essential. Your wife could not remain a housekeeper unless she contributed to the war against Russia.
- All the other features of the Hill plan, including the proposed civilian defense measures which revoke Constitutional guarantees, are in the Steelman plan.

WHY HURRY? Steelman, Truman and the defense experts have decided not to send it to Congress now. Despite the shouting of Baruch, the advantages are obvious. If the law were sent to Congress now it might be whittled down to some semblance of democratic legislation. Once passed it would be frozen and the Administration would have to abide by it, should war come.

And once Truman decides to act, all he has to do is declare a war emergency and call Congress into special session. In such a state of war fever, the White House figures, Congress would rush the police state bill through as it is.

THIS IS THE SETUP: It is important to know who is working out this fluid fascism. The National Security Act of 1947, railroaded through Congress by the Truman forces, created the National Security Council and the NSRB.

The Council, made up of the President, the Secretaries of State, Defense, Army, Navy and Air, and Steelman as the chairman of the NSRB, controls the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA for the first time in American history gives the U. S. a world network of spies under a central agency. In a hush-hush bill rushed through Congress this year, it got powers never granted another government agency.

The NSRB has a civilian chairman and representatives of the Departments of Defense, Treasury, State, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor. Operations are carried on by "offices," each under a Government career man. But the real authority in each field is its advisory board, invariably dominated by big business. For instance, K. S. McHugh, vice president of American Telephone and Telegraph, is the man most listened to on communications—next to J. R. Redman, vice president of Western Union. The same pattern holds for steel, machine tools, chemicals, etc.

TRICK OF THE WEEK: The theory is that big business will have to win the war. So why shouldn't big business prepare

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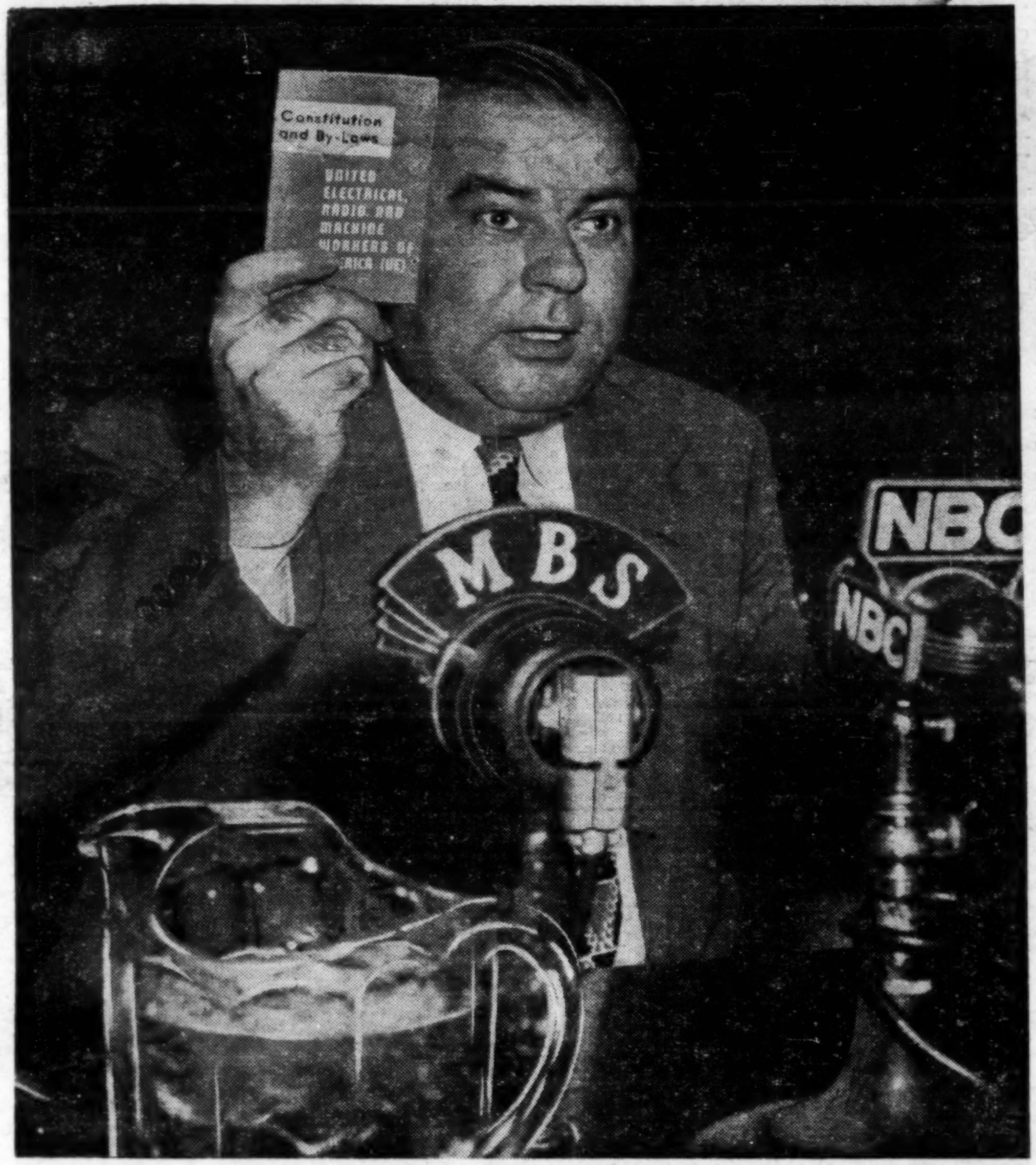
Constitution and By-Laws
UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF
MBS
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NBC

'We will continue to fight'

Albert J. Fitzgerald was mad. His union, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, had been thrown out of the CIO for sticking to its guns and principles. He denounced Philip Murray and his lieutenants "as miserably bewildered and perplexed men . . . chasing after handouts from politicians instead of fighting for the people." Then he said: "The workers of the electrical industry organized UE to fight for the improvement of wages and conditions. We will continue to fight for these objectives." (See page 3)

SPECIAL GUARDIAN COVERAGE

CIO convention—a full report on the betrayal of labor

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THE MAILBAG

The crime of thought

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

What was really the crime of the Communists? The crime was their thought. They are anti-capitalist, they do not believe in exploitation of men by men. They believe only in socialism, in a simple word; their belief is in collective ownership of the means of production and industries instead of private—for the service of producers of land and industries. And more, they believe in peace.

Now it will be interesting to know how organized labor, their reactionary leaders, progressive and liberal-minded people, will react against the conviction.

N. Egavian

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Shin-kickers wanted

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

There are so many union men and I believe they are the majority of our citizens. If they would boycott the papers that publish Pegler's column, the papers could not exist. However, I think we have the most stupid bunch of voters. Maybe if they get kicked in the shins a little more through the Taft-Hartley Act and other such laws, they may eventually wake up and vote for their own interests.

Emanuel Kline

•

And 100% sensible

TREGO, MONT.

Too long now have farmers been considered second class citizens, somehow unworthy of the good things our world has to offer, be it fur coats or plumbing. But the small, family-type farmer, no longer satisfied to be thus relegated, through his national and state Farmers Union now demands "Parity for All." We are not 60% citizens, as Senator Aiken would have it, or 90% citizens as others would have it; we are 100% Americans.

At its 34th annual convention, the Montana Farmers Union went on record demanding "that family type farmers shall receive 100% of parity for their commodities, parity to be figured on an up-to-date base" (rather than the present base period which goes back to the early 1900's and has no relation to present day realities). It endorsed the principles of the Brannan plan, as originally proposed, as the only national farm program which approaches the more ideal Farmers Union family farm program.

Reduced to its barest essential, the Brannan plan would permit full production without penalizing the farmers who produce abundance, and encourage greater and more sufficient consumption through lower prices to consumers. For the first time, then, we have a farm program which reverses the "high prices through scarcity" principle under which we have been operating.

Your correspondent Al Amery of E. Pepperell, Mass., in appraising the farm program of James Youngdale, congressional candidate in Minnesota, seems unaware that this program, for the most part, is not unique with Youngdale; in fact, in 1950 it will have the support of a million organized farmers. Mr. Amery is afraid that adversaries will attack the cost of the production payments to subsidize the plan.

Actually, at the present time, American taxpayers are paying fantastic sums to keep so-called surpluses off the market, where no one can benefit from them, while maintaining high prices to consumers. Business Week magazine says: "The farmer-consumer subsidies would have to come out of increased taxes, principally taxes on corporations." The Farmers Union says: "That would suit us just fine." The small taxpayer and consumer would unquestionably benefit; our whole economy would benefit.

Secretary Brannan warns that a 10% drop in agricultural receipts can mean a million men out of work. A sound farm program is everybody's business.

Mildred Oldenburg

More Father Duffys

DES MOINES, IOWA

I was so happy to read in the Oct. 17 issue the story of Father Duffy—we need more like him. I am of his faith and a member of the Progressive Party.

M. Catherine Collins

•

Good Companions

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Thank you for the story of Father Duffy, who along with all the other courageous fighters for truth, belongs right up there with Henry Wallace and Vito Marcantonio.

Mrs. Gertrude Gardner

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Minute men

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

I suggest we have a GUARDIAN Minute Men Club (like Uncle Oscar Ameringer's M.M. Club of circulation boosters for the old American Guardian). I am proud to say I was a Guardian Minute Man. I want to ask each of our readers who likes NATIONAL GUARDIAN to help increase the circulation by sending in an introductory club of four subs or more, then to contact the new subscribers, asking them to do likewise and to send in a new sub club of four new names. Special bundle rates to minute men can help build circulation.

John L. Widner

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Dirty dairy deal

ARGONNE, WIS.

Acting in perfect harmony with the expressed desire of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce to eliminate 2,000,000 small farmers in the U.S., the Wisconsin Dept. of Agriculture and Markets, after hearings which were kept very quiet and attended by hand-picked groups of farmers and representatives of big dairy interests, issued a so-called "sanitary order" which requires every farmer to have a concrete floor in his barn by Nov. 15 of this year, and to have an approved milk house by Nov. 15, 1952.

The order hems in small independent dairy plants with such restrictions as to make it almost impossible to operate. Penalties for disobeying any of the order's vast technicalities include exclusion from the markets or payment of a $200 fine.

It is expected that the order will affect 90,000 farmers in the state and will cost those who lack milk houses and concrete floors about $2,000 to stay in business. The idea behind the order is plainly to eliminate small farmers and small dairy plants so that an artificially high price for dairy products can be maintained in the depression period we are now entering.

C. M. Rasmussen

•

Barcelona to Peekskill

CLEVELAND, OHIO

I wrote the following poem six years ago after viewing a picture of a dead Spanish mother and child—casualties of fascism. I had put the poem away, but after reading about Peekskill and seeing pictures of same, I decided to take the poem out again to serve as a reminder that fascism is at our doorstep.

WE WILL REMEMBER

Two visions are before my eyes
My child in bed with rosy cheek, asleep in peaceful repose—
secure in his love—no planes up above, sleep, child, sleep.

I see—its memory haunting me forever,
Another child like my own—asleep? No, dead.
His mother lying by his side—unseeing eyes open wide.

'Tis well you see not, mother dear it would be more than you could bear,
Your child who sang, whose laughter rang—the world was good—
Some day he would be a man to make you proud. You saw it in his eyes, his ways, and now he lies in earthen shroud.

No good to cry or weep, the blood has flowed so very deep the earth is red,
We will avenge the dead—the children from their mothers torn—the ones unborn,
Hunt out the fascist beast and kill him lest he kill—forever make him still.

Edith Lumer

Truman's blueprint

(Continued from page 1)

for it and run it?

One neat trick the advisory groups have worked out is phantom orders. In machine tools alone the NSRB has placed $800,000,000 worth. These orders for execution when and if we get into war, are revised each year. It is being extended to other materials. For a manufacturer out of business, the orders may make war seem not so bad after all.

Just how deep the war psychology has dribbled in NSRB is illustrated by a story told the GUARDIAN by a top executive there. He had ordered a clipping from a leading New York paper photostated immediately for distribution to top brass. Three hours later it had not been done. He called in the girl to whom he had given the order and demanded an explanation.

She said: "You didn't give me a clearance on security."

JUST TEMPORARY: How far the Steelman plan goes toward ending America as we know it is hinted at by Charles Schwarz, public relations chief of NSRB, who said:

"The grim fact that any future war in which the U. S. is an antagonist will call for heavy sacrifices is already pretty well accepted by the people of the nation. They know by now that the so-called home front made out with a minimum of discomfort during the recent hostilities. In a future war controls will have to be more rigid, temporary regimentation will have to be accepted for the sake of ultimate freedom."

Report to Readers

You need a Marc in your town too

NEW YORK CITY politics has never before witnessed anything like the whirlwind campaign for mayor which Congressman Vito Marcantonio is winding up as this issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN goes to press.

In the first place, no candidate in memory—not even the indefatigable Fiorello La Guardia, Marc's political mentor—has ever set such a dizzying pace.

MAKE MARC MAYOR

Starting even before Labor Day, and commuting by air from Washington while Congress was in session, the dynamic American Labor Party Congressman set himself schedules of anywhere from three to ten meetings a day. Touring the city by subway, bus and taxi—and in the closing weeks in a rented car with a cop escort—Marc has made literally hundreds of speeches to crowds ranging from a few hundred to 20,000 at Madison Square Garden.

In addition he has been on the air at least once a week and sometimes three and four times, including several television appearances. There is scarcely a neighborhood of the sprawling city which has not had a street-corner visit from Marc.

Had Marc's Park Avenue opponent, Newbold Morris, undertaken even one-tenth of Marc's schedule, it would have been front-page feature news in every paper in the city.

In Marc's case, his two-fisted battle has been played down in every newspaper in New York except for the Daily Compass and the Daily News, which has run a Battle Page evenly divided among the three contestants for the last two weeks.

BOTH the Tammany Democrat incumbent, William O'Dwyer, and Morris, running as the Republican-Liberal-Fusion candidate, apparently decided at the start to ignore Marc and fight each other throughout the campaign. But neither one touched on issues of any great consequence. Agreeing with each other on the doubled (10-cent) subway fare, they sparred over the gambling situation, a long-settled transit unification, and their respective political associations.

Marc hit at the fare increases, which affect every New Yorker directly in the pocketbook; at the lack of housing, schools and hospitals; dirty streets; public health; inadequate welfare; O'Dwyer's neglect of Negro, Puerto Rican and Italian communities; police brutality against Negroes and others; and the tieups of both his opponents with the cold war and the rebirth of Nazism in Germany, a burning issue in a city with a Jewish population of more than 2,500,000.

In the last two weeks Marc's pounding at the real issues has finally pierced the hide-bound political masterminds of the old parties. O'Dwyer aimed a belated blow designed to unseat Marc with the city's 600,000 Italian voters by attacking his opposition to the Marshall Plan—which has brought Italy to the brink of bankruptcy.

Meanwhile, O'Dwyer and Morris spokesmen accused Marc successively of plotting a subway tieup, a shipping tieup, a work stoppage of 10,000 city employes (none of which happened) and of controlling the Dept. of Welfare.

Marc grinned. "They must think I'm Superman," he commented.

AS the GUARDIAN commented a few weeks ago, Marc may not be Superman, but he is the nearest to it ever to run for mayor of N. Y. C. With absolute peanuts for a mayoralty campaign fund, he has wised up N. Y. C. voters as they have never been wised before. Marc has made a real fight of what might otherwise have been a Republocrat waltz contest.

Win, lose or draw, one thing is sure in this mayoralty:

Whoever gets elected is going to have to deliver to the people on the basis of the program Marc has set before them, in the most vigorous, most informative campaign ever run in the city. They will not take less—for long. The Marcantonio campaign should be a model for progressives everywhere.

And to those of you who responded to our fund appeal of two weeks ago for Marc's campaign costs—you never got a better run for your money in all your born days.

Yours for a "Marc" campaign in every U. S. community,

John T. McManus

How's our form?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am very happy to see that the GUARDIAN has kept its original form as a serious publication. Those who are interested in reading movie reviews and sports events have ample opportunity to do so in many other magazines. I wish we could have a weekly column by Henry Wallace and more editorials by Cedric Belfrage. And I love the cartoons.

Irene Chiloya

Correction

In the Report to Readers last week it was stated that nobody mentioned F. D. R. at the UN dedication ceremony in New York. That was incorrect. Both Trygve Lie and Assembly President Carlos Romulo eulogized F. D. R. Our report should have said that the press did not consider F. D. R. newsworthy.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE CIO CONVENTION

Murray splits labor wide open; CIO official arm of cold war

By Lawrence Emery
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CLEVELAND, OHIO

THE red-baiting began the first day, grew worse the second, reached the point of personal vituperation the third. In that short space of time, in an atmosphere that accompanies a lynching, the 11th constitutional convention of the CIO had done these things:

- Amended its constitution to bar from top office members "of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement," or any person, member or not, "who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purpose of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement. . . ."
- Granted the executive board the power to remove officers or board members, and to expel unions or organizing committees betwen conventions.
- Expelled the United Electrical Workers, third largest in the CIO, for opposing national CIO policy.
- Expelled the Farm Equipment Workers for merging with UE in defiance of CIO orders that it join the right-wing United Auto Workers.
- Chartered a right-wing group to take over UE's jurisdiction and instituted a drive to win the union's claimed 500,000 members from their elected leaders.
- Authorized the UAW to take over, if it can, the 60,000 members of the Farm Equipment Union.
- Threatened to expel others of the bloc of 11 left-wing unions under the executive board's new powers at a later date.

ARM OF THE COLD WAR: By these actions the CIO in its week-long convention abandoned its founding principles of trade union democracy and autonomy for affiliates; added a new split to an already divided U.S. labor movement; raised the art of red-baiting to a height seldom, if ever, equaled even in this loyalty oath era; and in effect, converted itself into an arm of the cold war by tolerating no opposition to its official support of the Truman bi-partisan foreign policy—the Marshall Plan and Atlantic Pact which events have already exposed as unworkable and disastrous.

Truman is the mentor

Unqualified support to the Truman government was an underlying theme of the entire convention. Large photo-portraits of President Truman and Vice President Alben W. Barkley dominated the convention stage in Cleveland's big Public Auditorium. The invited guest speakers all were high government officials. They included Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin, chief of the joint chiefs of staff Gen. Omar Bradley, and Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing.

The President himself sent a letter in which he set an early tone for the red-baiting that followed. Referring to a "group" that "contains elements which give lip service to many of our progressive measures," he wrote:

"One of the many things that reinforces my firm conviction that their efforts will fail is the knowledge that your organization and other labor groups are fully awake to the dangers which they represent."

THE STEAMROLLER: Philip Murray and the others of the right-wing majority leadership were not as confident as the President that all were fully awake. Despite the fact that they had a seven to one majority among the 650 delegates, they went to work at once to create an atmosphere in which only the staunchest could oppose what they were determined to do.

The UE delegation was not present that first day; the members had met with Murray earlier. They were aware that the right wing was ready for the break. The Farm Equipment Workers, under charges, were not seated.

The end of an era in American labor

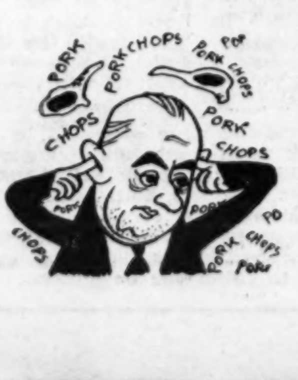
Delegates to the CIO convention stand up to vote for the ouster of UE, third largest affiliate. Note delegates applauding in the carnival spirit that attended the dismemberment of the CIO.

Exorcise the devil

In his opening address Philip Murray launched quickly into an attack on "diabolical, subversive communism;" declared that in the CIO executive board "I don't know whether I was talking to a fink, a commie, or an FBI man," and announced that "this convention" would "cleanse this movement." As for the left wing, he said, "I have exhausted every measure of tolerance and patience."

DEMOCRACY vs. DISUNITY: All such declarations brought cheers from a majority of the delegates. But in the afternoon Isadore Pickman of the Fur & Leather Workers Union, whose President Ben Gold is an admitted Communist, rose to protest. His union, he insisted, was guilty of none of the charges made by Murray. He said: "When trade union democracy is recognized, there is no reason for disunity in the CIO."

That night the Constitution Committee met in a hotel room and approved the constitutional amendments designed to split the organization.



GOOD TIMING: Also that night Phil Murray called a press conference and announced the settlement of his Steelworkers Union strike against Bethlehem Steel. The timing was perfect, for Murray needed a victory. He was under fire from both his own left-wing unions and the AFL for his renunciation of a wage increase and acceptance of a fact-finding board's recommendations in place of direct negotiations and collective bargaining.

All of Tuesday morning was devoted to eulogizing Philip Murray's statesmanship and the benefits of Bethlehem's pension plan; the convention was creating its own hero on the spot.

The UE statement

At the same time, some blocks away, the UE delegation was pondering its union's future. At 11 a.m. it summoned reporters. Most of them left the convention hall. UE had made a decision, had a statement:

"The general executive board of UE directs that UE per capita to CIO be withheld in accordance with the mandate of the 14th UE convention, until such time as the CIO returns to the principles of free, democratic, industrial unionism."

"RED-BAITING SPREE": Under the circumstances, that was tantamount to withdrawal. The UE leaders had some bitter things to say of CIO leaders:

"They gave (us) plainly to understand that the main business of the CIO convention would be a red-baiting spree for the gratification of the anti-labor commercial press and the politicians to whom the CIO now subordinates itself. . . . This program of raiding, union-busting and red-baiting hypocrisy is the logical development of CIO policy over the past two years.

"It is CIO policy today to fritter away the organized strength of the working people and to whip them into a political line-up. It is CIO policy to trade off the power of the working people to fight for their demands in exchange for dubious and meager favors from the politicians."

BUSINESS IS BOSS: ". . . The policy now being followed by CIO leads to the destruction of free labor unions and to a labor movement supervised, directed and controlled by government for the benefit of big business.

"In order to enforce this labor front policy upon the workers of the electrical industry, CIO has been fostering, supporting and financing the James Carey (CIO secretary treasurer) Association of Catholic Trade Unionists group of traitors and secessionists within UE.

"Since the CIO was organized, the UE has paid $2,750,000 into the CIO. Dues money paid by the workers of our industry has been handed over by CIO leadership to finance the ambitions of repudiated men whom those very workers have rejected for national office, for district office and in many cases for office within their own locals. Dues money paid by the membership of UE has been used by CIO leadership to help raid UE, to disrupt UE and to defeat the expressed will of the UE membership."

With this declaration, the UE delegates packed up and left. They had boycotted the convention, had not served on convention committees of which they were members. Now the fight was in the open.

The lineup

That Tuesday afternoon the constitutional amendments were thrown on the floor. There was no doubt of the outcome, but the issues was debated for five bitter hours. For the amendments were Presidents O. A. Knight of the Oil Workers, Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers, Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union, Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers, Mike Quill of the Transport Workers, and Phil Murray himself. Against it these men stood up: John J. Stanley of the Office Workers, Ben Gold of the Fur Workers, Harry Bridges of the West Coast Longshoremen's union, Joseph Selly of the American Communications Association, and Morris Pizer of the Furniture Workers.

JEERS FROM THE RIGHT: Albert J. Fitzgerald of the UE had had his say at his press conference. Asked if his union was dominated by communists, he said: "We're not dominated by the Communists, and we're not dominated by Phil Murray." Of the amendments he said: "They make the Taft-Hartley law look like a piece of liberal legislation."

For the right-wing speakers, it was largely an afternoon of gloating. Said Reuther to the left-wingers: "If you are not big enough and decent enough to get out, then we will make the decision to help you get out." Said Rieve: "I have waited for this opportunity for a good many years."

HARRY BRIDGES
He gave no quarter

GOLD'S ARGUMENT: The left-wingers argued for trade union democracy. Said Ben Gold: "The majority rules only as long as it carries out the basic principles of democracy . . . you cannot deprive the minority of its rights and its expression of opinions. Once you do that you are destroying the morale and strength and the power of this great union. Moreover, you are practically paving the way for the reactionary monopolists to follow your example to deprive the majority today, who may tomorrow be the minority. I ask . . . that you reject this un-American, anti-

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democratic and anti-labor rule."

Said Harry Bridges after a vigorous defense of his union's record: "The ILWU has no plans to leave CIO. The ILWU has no plans to leave this convention. To get rid of us you are going to have to throw us out."

DISASTER AHEAD: Said Selly: "Let me conclude by pleading—yes, I am not ashamed to plead in this instance, because I think we are on the eve of a decision which may spell disaster for the CIO and for the American labor movement. . . . I plead for my membership, to permit them to have their basic democratic American right to decide fundamental policy questions by virtue of their own secret ballot."

But all the pleading was in vain. Murray denounced them as "chattels of Sovietism . . . agents of Moscow." He spoke of himself as "the kindly, tolerant, patient Phil Murray." In the next breath he spoke of the "diabolical plots" and the "vile conduct" of his opponents. By an overwhelming majority, the amendment was adopted.

The 'crimes' of UE

That Tuesday night, in another hotel room, the resolutions committee framed the document calling for the expulsion of UE. The specific charges: UE opposed the Marshall Plan, opposed the Atlantic Pact, "joined with the Communist Party in creating the misnamed Progressive Party," criticized top CIO strategy in relation to repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, merged with the Farm Equipment Workers, criticized Murray's failure to fight for wage increases.

"NOT FIT TO ASSOCIATE": Because of these things, said the document, "we can no longer tolerate within the family of CIO the Communist Party masquerading as a labor union. The time has come when the CIO must strip the mask from these false leaders whose only purpose is to deceive and betray the workers."

Of UE's criticism of CIO policies, the document said: "Their program of vilification reveals the degradation of men who have surrendered the right and lost the ability to think for themselves. It brands them as unfit to associate with decent men and women in free democratic trade unions."

HARRY HAS A HUNCH: Walter Reuther chaired the resolutions committee that drafted the document. It was approved by an "overwhelming majority" of the committee, he said. Harry Bridges, a member of the comittee, was asked if his union would be next. He grinned and said: "I got a hunch we'll be around for quite awhile."

But Reuther hinted more expulsions. "'There may be further resolutions implementing the CIO position," he said.

Raids? No, desertions

Next mornings the press tables were crowded, most delegates were present, the galleries were filled. Many priests (including Father Rice, ACTU chaplain), all present at the special invitation of Murray and James Carey, spotted the convention hall. Present, too, was Fred M. Kelley, right wing UE member who had been defeated for the presidency of UE at its convention last month. Although his local had not elected him a delegate, he wore delegate's credentials.

Again left-wing leaders rose to defend UE, not present to defend itself: most of the delegates were in the field to save what they could against wholesale raids, seizures of local funds, lawsuits contesting jurisdiction.

For a job well done

In the parade of government big brass who addressed the CIO convention was the courtly figure of Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Above, he shakes hands with Philip Murray as the crown prince, Walter Reuther (middle) looks on with ecstatic face. Acheson told the delegates: "I want to acknowledge the contributions American labor organizations have made to our foreign policy."

THE WORD IS DIRTY: But this time in the one-sided debate the expellers went in for name-calling. Said George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers: "We are only giving you some of your own dirty stinking language in return. Many of us feel it is nine years too late."

Said Allan Haywood, CIO vice-president: "Liars."

Said Walter Reuther: "Morally bankrupt."

Said Murray: There have been no raids, they are "desertions." The UE statement was "senseless." Left-wing "mental processes" were "corroded." Communists "dare not stand upon their dirty feet and criticize any Soviet policy." The UE delegates "ran like skulking cowards—and they left behind these apostles of hate to defend them." Of those who argued that the split was over a trade union issue he said: "They are lying out of their mouths and they are lying out of the pits of their dirty bellies."

The final act

To Murray there was "one issue, and one issue alone: communism."

And, cried he: "There is no room in the CIO for communism." Upon that the vote was taken. UE stood expelled by an overwhelming majority. The CIO no longer was what it once had been.

The rest went quickly. Early in the afternoon a charter in the name of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers was presented to an administrative committee headed by James Carey, who was defeated as head of UE in 1942. Listed as a third member of the committee without title is Fred M. Kelley, who had expected to head it.

The new rival union will hold a convention in Philadelphia on Nov. 28. They faced an injunction suit from UE to force them to change their name, which was so similar to UE as to cause confusion and chaos.

THE NEW LOOK: Carey announced that locals in his control will immediately file non-communist affidavits, and that employers will be notified of the new set-up. He claimed 155,000 members now, predicted he will have them all soon, including those taken in raids by the UAW.

The CIO's new look was virtually completed an hour later when the convention adopted an enabling resolution instructing the executive board to take action immediately to carry out the newly-adopted amendments.

INSIDE THE UE: While Carey gave out the address of his Washington headquarters (acquired before the convention) Fitzgerald sat down with General Electric negotiators to fight for wage, pension and welfare increases for 125,000 workers. Carey followers in East Pittsburgh, Pa., and Long Island, N.Y., had confiscated local treasuries as a preliminary maneuver to secession. Court action was expected.

Meanwhile FE announced that 84% of its members had voted to merge with UE. District President Peter Aversa announced he was taking the Auburn, N. Y., local into the UAW. He claimed the local's unanimous consent although only 150 of the 1,800 members attended the meeting to approve the merger. Saying he spoke for several locals, Aversa was seeking an injunction to halt the UE-FE merger.

(Continued on following page)

UN Economic Report says

U. S. leads western world toward a major depression

By Tabitha Petran

"A CERTAIN amount" of unemployment is necessary and inevitable, said a U.S. delegate to the Economic and Financial Committee of the UN General Assembly last month. Those numbered in that "certain amount" did not intrude on the deliberations. The rise of unemployment was not measured in the hardships of a man trying to devise a personal budget without an income. Western delegations talked of unemployment as an "adjustment."

Every delegate knew that the economy of half the world is dependent on that of the U.S. And while some talked of the U.S. economy's "vitality, resilience and staying power," all had read the UN's own survey which tells a different story.

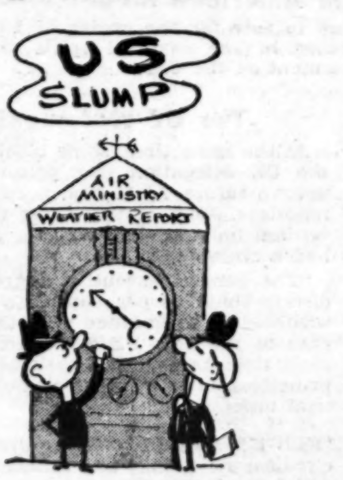
The survey, bringing up to date the UN's World Economic Report published last July, characterizes the recent production recovery in the U.S. as "limited" and pictures a world drifting unevenly but steadily toward depression.

PEOPLE CAN'T BUY: In neutral and guarded language, the UN Report admits that:

- A depression is developing in the United States.

Production in the U. S. had dropped over 10% by mid-1949 and the decline was "widespread, affecting both durable and non-durable goods." Basic cause of the decline in output and employment was the lack of "effective demand"—in other words, the shrinking purchasing power of the people. Despite the production upturn in August, the Report found no change in the basic trends leading to decline.

- As a result of the economic decline in the U.S., a depression is developing in other capitalist countries.



Daily Worker, London

"Depression approaching from Wall Street."

In western Europe unemployment is growing: output has not gone up enough to absorb the additional manpower made available by rising productivity and the natural growth of the labor force.

"Inadequate domestic effective demand" is a basic factor behind the failure of production to achieve full employment levels, and in some cases "increasing competition in export markets." (Failure of west European production to make an adequate recovery is frequently concealed by comparing current production to the depression year of 1938.)

- The trade difficulties of the capitalist world are intensifying.

This constitutes an admission of the failure of the Marshall Plan. The disparity between the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist world has sharpened.

The U. S. foreign trade position has deteriorated, while the dollar crisis of other capitalist nations was aggravated in 1949.

The Report is referring to another effect of the Marshall Plan when it notes that industrial expansion has been "hampered by the inability to obtain adequate imports of materials, machinery and transportation equipment in parts of Latin America, Asia and eastern Europe."

- Devaluation (a by-product of the Marshall Plan) will probably bring a rise in the cost of living and a fall in real wages, especially in those countries which depend on imports of food and other necessities from the U. S. and other dollar countries.

- In non-capitalist countries these economic difficulties have not appeared.

In contrast to the 12%-a-year rate of decline in U.S. production, production in the U.S.S.R. has been rising at the rate of 20 to 25% a year. Soviet steel production in the second quarter of 1949 was one fourth above the corresponding period in 1948, while in the U.S. it dropped 10%.

CHALLENGE TO WEST: The UN Survey reported "a considerable increase" in economic activity throughout eastern Europe and a rise in industrial consumer supplies. Steel production went up in Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1949. So did engineering and chemical output. Unemployment was negligible. Prices on industrial consumer goods "fell significantly" in Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. In Russia the food supply increased by 15% over the second quarter of 1948, while prices went down 10%.

UN members are obligated by the Charter to promote full employment. The UN Economic Report demands "specific measures, both national and international" to counter the "possible recession." It is the West that, as the report shows, has a job on its hands to fulfill the obligations.

(Continued from preceding page)

Foreign policy stated

Late in the week the convention turned to foreign affairs. Curran read a resolution:

- Supporting the Atlantic Pact, the Marshall Plan, Truman's Point Four program for undeveloped areas.
- Applauding "free elections" and "democratic government" in Germany.
- Bewailing the "collapse of China."
- Acclaiming the "pattern" U. S. has set in the Philippines.

ON THE MARCH: Harry Bridges led the opposition. He said: "The people of Asia and Africa are going to keep on marching. The test of a resolution on foreign policy is what stand do we take in the struggle of these people to free themselves."

He blocked a familiar charge when he said: "If and when we get some resolutions which don't just hang the ills of the world on the hammer and sickle, I'll be prepared to scatter the blame around, too. Anyone who thinks Russia is perfect is a damn fool. But anyone who thinks that the present Labor government of Great Britain is going around handing out the good things of the world is a damn fool, too."

BORED PLATFORM: He called for trade with China and Russia and charged that the "crusade against communism" was "taking the bread out of the mouths of the longshoremen." He concluded: "We think in our screwy fashion that exporting the product of our great know-how is the one sure way to keep our industries going."

On the platform Curran yawned, and in the end the resolution passed with the familiar majority.

OUT OF THE WFTU: Then came resolutions ratifying CIO's walkout from the World Federation of Trade Unions, forbidding any CIO union or official to remain connected with WFTU, sanctioning CIO participation in a rival to WFTU. In vain Bridges argued, then pleaded for an exception for his union. He pointed out that his union needed the help of longshoremen overseas, that the proposed new federation would ban the majority of dock workers in the world (as communist controlled).

FATHER CHARLES O. RICE
Splendid performance

Curran rose to answer. He said he wanted Bridges "to keep his goddam nose out of our union." He shouted: "He's just shootin' his face off."

The delegates applauded Curran thunderously and passed the resolution.

THE BIG QUESTION: The CIO was ready Friday afternoon to re-elect Murray and Co. with well-planned spontaneous highjinks. But one question remained: Would the CIO seat on its Executive Board the elected officers of the 11 internationals referred to at the convention as "the enemy"?

If the unions were ruled off the board the problem would be how to safeguard union funds and contracts in the face of this remark from Carey:

"Will employers co-operate with the communists and their emissaries? Or will they deal with the CIO which is heir to the contracts?"

If the 11 were seated, these questions remained: When would the axe fall in earnest? Would progressives wait for it?

STEEL

Pattern-makers

LAST June the CIO hit steel with the demand for a 30c "package." It was to include 18c an hour in wage increases for more than a half million workers, 12c in company-paid retirement pensions and welfare benefits.

When a showdown came in July, President Truman's fact-finding board moved in to hear the union's justifications for its demands. Economists on Philip Murray's staff presented an iron-clad case: steel profits had mounted steadily to new records (Bethlehem had made $83,000,000 in 1949 compared to $53,000,000 in the comparable period of 1948); wages needed adjustment to the rising cost of living; the 31 steel corporations involved could afford decent pension plans along with pay increases.

TERMS & CONCESSIONS: The fact-finders recommended a 10c pension and welfare plan, to be paid for entirely by management, and rejected the wage boost. Murray accepted. Steel balked, demanded that workers contribute. Then came the strike.

Last week Murray announced what he called "one of the most outstanding achievements in the history of collective bargaining." It was Bethlehem's agreement to pay for $100-a-month pensions for workers over 65 after 25 years' service (including Federal social security) and 2½c an hour toward health and welfare benefits, with the workers paying another 2½c. For these terms Murray extended the contract to Dec. 31, 1951, held off demands for wage boosts until the end of 1950.

PATTERN FOR LABOR? This was the pattern for settlement of the steel strike, expected to follow in short order. Workers with speedup and other grievances looked in vain for contract terms which would protect them.

The Steelworkers at least had the satisfaction of having held a month-long strike solid until the companies came part of the way. Labor generally—AFL, CIO, independents, right and left—had the satisfaction of having united behind them. What the Bethlehem pattern would do for U.S. workers under 65 was in doubt.

LAND REFORM
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COAL

Miners wonder

JOHN L. LEWIS' striking coal miners asked themselves: would the steel settlement hurt their chances for winning wage increases and shorter hours as well as pension improvements? They already had the best pension plan—20c a ton paid by the operators. Lewis called a strategy meeting in Chicago last week when negotiations broke up without progress.

BUSY MILLIONAIRE: Lewis had accused "two millionaire operators" of blocking a settlement in Indiana. GUARDIAN's John B. Stone in Washington sought one of them, Hubert E. Howard, president of the Brinkley Coal Co. He should have been in Washington, because he had just taken a full-time job as Defense Secretary Louis Johnson's personal policy adviser.

Sorry, said Howard's secretary at the Pentagon, but he had gone to Chicago on personal business, could be reached at the Brinkley Coal Co. there. Just incidentally, the United Mine Workers' policy board was also on its way to a Chicago meeting.

The man with the key to the city — of Madrid

Isolationist to war-drum thumper: Pat McCarran's journey

By Arthur Douglas

WHEN the House Un-American Activities Committee fell inactive due to the indictment for fraud of its chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, an all-time record for high broomstick-riding seemed to have been set. But 73-year-old Sen. Patrick A. (Pat) McCarran (D-Nev.) took up the challenge in the Senate Judiciary Committee of which he is chairman. He disinterred the House Committee's star witness, Elizabeth T. Bentley, publishing a list of 37 new "spies" named by her. More recently he produced the mysterious "Witness No. 8" who disclosed that UN officials were terrorized by "reds," and won from Acting UN Secretary General Byron Price the testimonial: "Nuttiest story I have heard yet."

Who is Sen. McCarran? A key Senate man (also a member of the Senate's Appropriations Committee and Watchdog Committee on Foreign Affairs), he is now on a government-paid junket to Europe.

THE YARD IS PACKED: Last week he was in Madrid hobnobbing with his old friend General Franco. ("I wanted to talk to the Spaniard in his own back yard, so to speak.")

He was the sixth U.S. senator to turn up in Franco's back yard in recent months. Seven representatives and Coca Cola's Jim Farley have been there too. The purpose? To grease the skids for a U.S. loan to the Spanish dictator.

DEPENDS ON THE WAR: A rabid isolationist when Nazi armies swept across Europe in 1939, McCarran cried: "One American boy, the son of an American mother, is worth more than all Central Europe. War is inhuman and unworthy." Rabidly interventionist now Central Europe is going socialist, McCarran cries in 1949: "War is inevitable and the sooner we get ready for it the better off we will be."

In 1939 isolationist McCarran vowed he would "resist with everything within my power any action . . . which will permit exportation of gunpowder or munitions of war, resulting in a profit to individuals, associations or groups domestic, to destroy the sons of foreign mothers." To him there was nothing quite so sacred as a mother, and referring to the sacrifices she was called upon to make "to enhance private profit" he said: "I think human flesh and blood is the same the world over."

To the interventionist McCarran of today there are mothers—and mothers; and even American ones are sacred only up to a point. In the peace year of 1948 he voted for the draft (which he opposed in the year of Pearl Harbor), and he roots fervently for the Truman Doctrine, aid to Chiang Kai-shek and arms for Europe to destroy the fruit of Greek, Chinese and Russian wombs. The bit about the profits earned out of all this by "groups domestic" has been dropped.

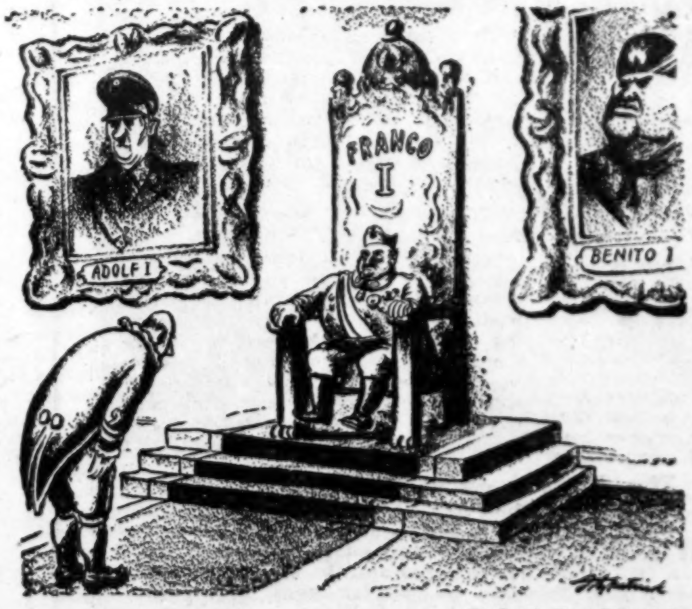
MAD DOGS & EGYPTIANS: Opinions about McCarran vary. Father Charles E. Coughlin, the "radio priest" of Royal Oak, Mich., who used to borrow ideas from Hitler's Dr. Goebbels, called him "a friend of the common man." **Scribner's Commentator,** which was indicted during the war for spreading subversive propaganda, placed him on its "honor roll." Norman Corwin, ace wartime radio dramatist now serving with the United Nations, described McCarran as a "political mad dog and a subversive influence in the United States."

Somewhere in between is the opinion of former Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes. He said: "I do not mean to imply that he (McCarran) does not have his use as a member of the Senate. The ancient Egyptians, at their feasts, used to enthrone a mummy to remind them, even at the height of their festivities, that man is mortal. The Senate does not need a more faithful imitation of this ancient and honorable custom as long as it has the Honorable Pat."

TO MOTHER — FROM PAT: Originally elected on the landslide which swept the New Deal into office, the "Honorable Pat" broke with FDR in 1934. Strong support from Nevada mining interests has regularly re-elected him; but the man whom John Gunther called "God's gift not only to the people of Nevada but to various interests outside the state" has also been generously aided by California oil firms. He is often referred to as "California's third senator."

His last gift to mothers was an alien deportation bill which would have the effect of wrecking the United Nations (GUARDIAN, Aug. 1) Recently he introduced a rider to an ECA appropriations bill which would halt the dismantling of 159 of western Germany's biggest war plants. He was also the foremost Senate spokesman for allocating $50,000,000 to Franco Spain under the Marshall Plan.

Note to mothers—and others—in Nevada: McCarran comes up for re-election in 1950.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"More Americans to see you, Caudillo."

POLITICS

THE ELECTIONS

Nation votes; PP watches key spots

AS the week ended, U.S. voters heard the last bursts of campaign oratory. Canvassers plodded up their last flights of stairs, handed out their final appeals for votes. The country had reached the eve of its off-year Election Day.

On Wednesday the people would scan results for answers to these questions:

- Had the Democrats lost ground because of the failures of the 81st Congress and the deepening slump?
- Would the Truman labor vote of 1948 turn out, and where would it go?
- Had Progressives reached the voters in their concentration on local bread-and-butter issues?

Results in many cases would doubtless set up political weathervanes for 1950 and beyond. Progressives and their supporters looked to key sectors for their answers.

Marc's great campaign

New York City had a record registration for its three-way mayoralty race. Rep. Vito Marcantonio headed the

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

first full city slate the American Labor Party had ever entered. Progressives everywhere rooted for it.

Marc's fighting campaign on the issues swelled his ALP supporters by thousands of Puerto Ricans who are jammed into slums and discriminated against in jobs. In Italian sections, where the 1948 Wallace vote was light, crowds filled the streets at ALP rallies, cheered Marc when he spoke in their native tongue.

In Harlem, Councilman Ben Davis conducted all but the closing days of his Communist-ALP re-election campaign from the jail where he sat with the other ten convicted Communists before bail was granted. His Republican-Democrat-Liberal opponent, Earl Brown, opposed him on the ground that Davis was a Communist. Davis' record had not been attacked.

UNKIND TO DULLES: Republican Sen. John Foster Dulles faced Democratic ex-Gov. Herbert H. Lehman in a special election to fill the Senate seat vacated by Robert F. Wagner. Dulles, leading architect of the cold war, spent the last days of the campaign trying to overcome his earlier inuendos about "the kind of people" supporting Lehman. "Bigotry" was a word Dulles disliked having pinned on himself.

The ALP had entered no Senate candidate, rejected both Lehman and Dulles as poor bi-partisan risks.

CALIFORNIA: Progressives backed Charles R. Garry, Roosevelt Democrat, against Truman Democrat John F. Shelley and Taft-Hartley Republican Lloyd Cosgrove for the San Francisco Fifth District congressional seat. Garry challenged the "Fair Deal" record on foreign policy, labor legislation, civil rights, housing and unemployment; united with most unions against a proposition on the ballot to repeal California's year-old pension law.

MICHIGAN: Progressives left Chamber of Commerce mayoralty candidate Albert Cobo to fight it out with Walter Reuther's man George Edwards, and concentrated on electing their own candidates—former State Sen. Stanley Nowak and Negro leader Charles A. Hill—to the City Council. Last April the Progressive State Supreme Court candidate got almost 25% of the vote in Detroit's Wayne County.

PHILADELPHIA: PP City Council candidate Lillian Narins had campaigned on porkchop issues, beginning in mid-summer when she took GOP Mayor Barney Samuel to court on fare increases. ADA City Treasurer candidate Richardson Dilworth, like the dominant Republicans, had exchanged invective and said nothing about the 125,000 unemployed, housing, jimcrow or fares.

BOSTON: 75-year-old Democratic boss Mayor James M. Curley, who boasted he would stay in office till he was 125, was challenged by George Oakes, who wanted, and James B. Hynes, who got, GOP support; by Tru-

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West Coast wire

United front fights sabotage of Washington social security

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

SEATTLE, WASH.

HUNDREDS of thousands of angry people in the state of Washington—among them the unemployed, the aged and the blind—are waging a united battle against drastic cuts in living standards.

To all of them it is a real preview of depression. The crisis is acute enough to link CIO, AFL, independent unions, the Progressive Party and 16,000 members of the Washington Pension Union in a resistance campaign.

LESSON IN SABOTAGE: The fight involves Initiative 172, adopted by the voters a year ago, which put a $60 floor under monthly pensions and provided subsistence benefits for the unemployed, unemployables and mothers of dependent children. The law was supported by the Democratic Party.

Sabotage began last spring. Democrats in the Legislature ganged up with Gov. Arthur B. Langlie and the Republicans to allocate ridiculously inadequate funds to carry out the law. Then the governor appointed Roderick Olszendam, an executive of the powerful Weyerhauser Timber Corp., as social security director.

CAN'T FOOL EVERYONE: He played smart at first, letting pension allowances alone and chipping away at grants to the jobless and dependent. That didn't fool the Pension Union, which immediately joined the Progressive Party and some labor unions in warning against undercutting of the law.

Then Olszendam reduced unemployments benefits to allowances for food alone, eliminating rent and utilities, and announced he would order cuts of 10% to 80% for everybody—including pensioners—on Nov. 1. The resistance united and got busy.

Basic lumber, maritime and metal trades industries felt the pinch. Oldtime Democratic and Republican leaders openly and passively supported the program to destroy the law, but a big trade-union conference met in Seattle to hammer out a campaign to save it. Other organizations called similar meetings, particularly in the harder-pressed sectors of the state.

THE AX FALLS: Meanwhile the Democratic-Republican coalition pushed through pension cuts averaging 10% for the aged and blind, knocked 50% to 60% off checks for the jobless, 22% from sums paid to mothers of dependent children, and 70% to 80% from benefits for the able-bodied unemployed.

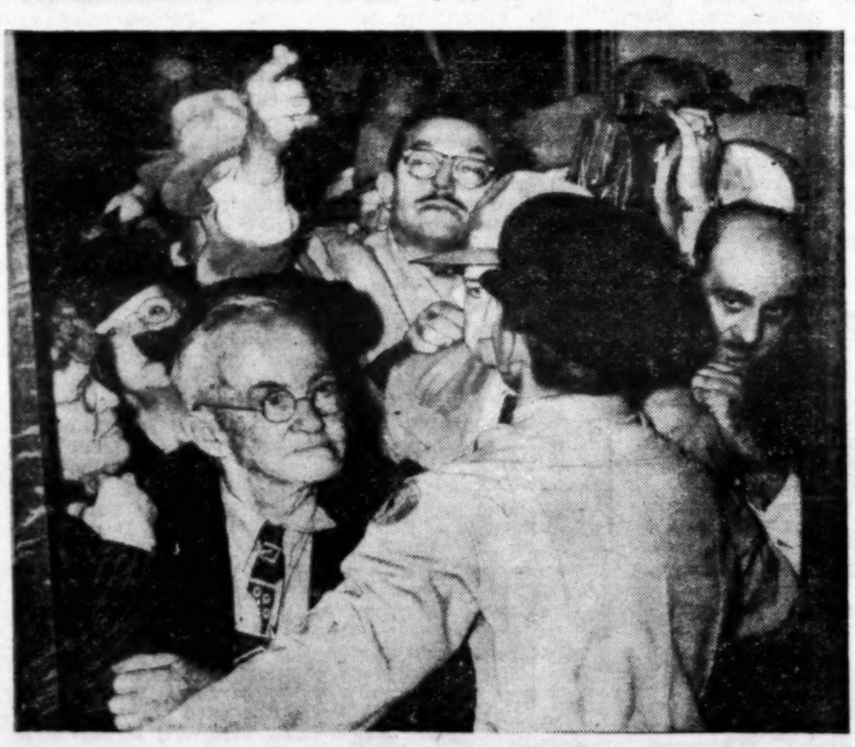
As battle lines formed, union leaders tackled the fight for the unemployed, who are expected to increase 300% by January. Unions are calling for trade with the new Chinese People's Republic to provide jobs for lumber, shipping and metal workers.

President Truman and the cold war budget are not escaping the wrath of the people. It is pointed out that the U.S. gives the state of Washington $12 for every $1 the state spends on the National Guard, but matches dollars for only half of pension grants and gives nothing toward other benefits.

CIVIL RIGHTS PARALLEL: Protest meetings are hearing parallels drawn between national assaults on civil rights and the attempted use of the Canwell Un-American Activities Committee to wreck the Washington Pension Union.

So the depression here is real—no longer a thing of theory, but of fear, breadlines and desperation.

The attack on Washington's social security program is similar to that upon California's similar scheme, also adopted by the voters last year. As in California, the fight has created one of the broadest unions of liberals and progressives seen in many years.



The topic is pensions

George McLain (center, with moustache), fights his way through a crowd of his supporters to enter the hearing room in Los Angeles where his Citizens Committee for Old Age Pensions was under investigation by a State Senate committee. McLain's plan ($75 a month to the aged and the blind) was adopted by referendum vote a year ago. The plan was up for repeal in the Nov. 8 voting in favor of Proposition 2, backed by California's banking and big business interests, which would nullify the present law.

CIVIL LIB

FIGHT OF THE 11

Medina reversed

TO Judge Harold R. Medina it was "absurd" to consider the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders under the Smith Act a violation of constitutional rights. So he had ordered them jailed without bail.

Last week the three-judge U.S. Court of Appeals in New York handed Judge Medina and the government a sharp reversal: it ordered the 11 released on a total of $260,000 bail on the ground that a "substantial" constitutional issue was involved. The Civil Rights Congress posted the amount at once, and the 11 left jail to continue their fight.

Said one crestfallen U.S. prosecutor: "The decision was in no way a reflection on Judge Medina's ruling. . . . I certainly hope that no one will get the impression that Judge Medina is being reversed."

HARD TO TAKE: Although the decision was announced in the morning, the government fought all day to get more bail security and block release of the 11.

In the evening Defense Counsel Harry Sacher reported to Judge Learned Hand: "The U.S. Attorney declines to approve acceptance of our bond."

"Afraid of inflation?" the judge asked. "You don't think they were stolen?"

"I don't know," came the government reply.

"You're really catching at straws," said the judge.

U.S. GETS ON A SPOT: It was a double defeat for Medina and the prosecution; it upset the judge's arbitrary denial of bail and set the amount far below the $1,000,000 suggested by the government.

Attorney General Howard McGrath's lawyers had found themselves in an embarrassing spot during argument. They had been instructed to admit that "the defendants have an arguable point."

Asked Judge Hand: "You don't think it's a substantial one?"

"That puts it to me in a hard way," replied Prosecutor Irving Shapiro.

"I know," said the judge. "I intended to."

The same court stayed contempt sentences imposed on the defense law-man Democrat Patrick J. McDonough, and by PP state director Walter A. O'Brien. Without headquarters or campaign funds, O'Brien fought hard on unemployment, housing, discrimination issues.

NEW JERSEY: Progressive James Imbrie, who successfully sued in Superior Court to have candidates' loyalty oaths declared unconstitutional, challenged GOP incumbent Alfred E. Driscoll and Democratic State Sen. Elmer H. Wene for Governor. To many Republicans Driscoll was "too liberal"; to many Democrats Wene threatened a return to power of Boss Frank Hague.

CONNECTICUT-OHIO: The PP went into the shops for candidates, made unemployment an issue. UAW chief steward Charles J. Clark, running for City Council in Toledo, Ohio, and UE spokesman Fred Blycher, running for mayor of Bridgeport, Conn., campaigned at shop gates for increased unemployment compensation, public works, Taft-Hartley repeal, low-cost housing.

VOTE
FOR
MARC

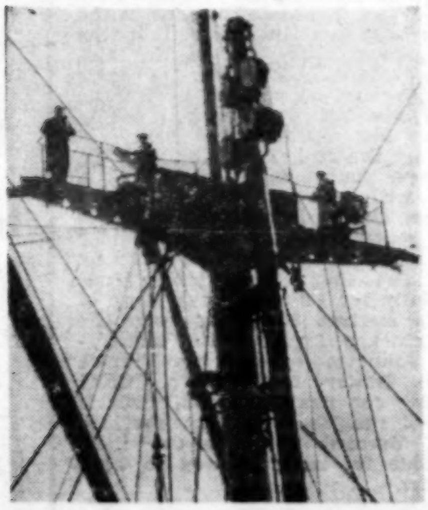
LIBERTIES

yers pending their appeal the week of Dec. 12.

POLICE HALT PARADE: Happy Harlem turned out to greet Councilman Ben Davis, one of the freed 11, with a gigantic torchlight parade. Singing and dancing, they swung toward a meeting where Davis was to start the windup of his re-election campaign. Just short of their destination, three police cars blocked the way. The crowd tried to go around them. The police started swinging their clubs, shouting insults. Bottles were hurled from windows; in the melee it was uncertain who were the intended targets. Mounted cops rode into sidewalk crowds. People were beaten, six were arrested. The **N. Y. Times** soberly reported that the marchers "unwittingly prevented" the meeting.

DEPORTATIONS

Men on a topmast



THREE weeks ago the Greek freighter Aristokratis (under Panamanian charter) sailed into Baltimore harbor. Aboard were four members of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, blacklisted as "communist" by the Athens government.

The U.S. Immigration Service works with a copy of the Athens blacklist. For 15 days the four seamen were kept on the Aristokratis. The night of Nov. 1 they were told that the U.S. would deport them to Greece next day. That meant only one thing to them—death.

CLIMB TO FREEDOM: Escape ashore being cut off by customs guards, the four moved in the only direction open—up. They climbed up into a topmast and clung there, buffeted by chilling winds, without food. When day broke, there were only three left. Police searched for the other.

Baltimoreans went to the ship with food, clothing, cigarettes. Guards refused to let the seamen have the supplies, retreated only when other crewmen formed a protective ring while the three picked up the contributions and climbed back to their perch.

LAW FIRST, LIVES LATER: Later, U.S. officials banned further aid. Attorneys for the seamen and the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born sought a writ of habeas corpus, were told the men would have to descend first. An appeal went to UN as the yardarm democrats held on for their lives.

IMMIGRATION

End of a threat

LAST April Dr. Glenn Shortliffe, a Canadian educator, was appointed to the faculty of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. After he sold his home and gave up his job with Queens College, Kingston, Ont., the U.S. Immigration Service told him he was undesirable. He was a member of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, a mildly socialistic party. Without a job or a home, Dr. Shortliffe went to France to study.

Last week U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath said it was all a mistake; the exclusion order had been lifted. It took the Justice Dept. five months, under considerable public pressure, to decide that Dr. Shortliffe's entry would not be "detrimental."

Chicago dateline

Housing mess hits Negroes hardest as jobs dwindle

By Rod Holmgren

GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO

TWO big elements of Chicago's critical housing shortage are racial discrimination and the threat of huge rent boosts. Both came sharply into public view last week.

A few months ago Mayor Martin H. Kennelly came out against a proposal by Alderman Archibald Carey to outlaw jimcrow in public housing projects. Kennelly said adoption might "delay" action to overcome the housing shortage. Carey's proposal was defeated.

A PATTERN GROWS: Last week Carey charged the City Council "had not done one single thing" to provide housing. Some aldermen, he said, "would rather have no housing at all than have some Negroes in some projects." His outburst climaxed debate on renewal of temporary veterans' projects for another year.

Alderman William J. Lancaster, housing committee chairman, called Carey's charges "'unfair and inflammatory," pointed to $4,500,000 appropriated for the 800-unit Dearborn project. Lancaster added: "And this will be an all-Negro project."

Carey blew up anew: "It better not be! That is merely an extension of the pattern of segregation."

How the pattern works

THE jimcrow squeeze play is being clearly demonstrated for 3,500 families—mostly Negro—being forced to move from South Side homes to make way for a high-rent, lily-white New York Life Insurance Co. development.

Six months ago the City Council approved a West Side relocation project, promising the displaced families first crack. About the same time the anti-jimcrow proposal was voted down.

THE DOUBLE-CROSS: Now eight West Side aldermen are demanding that no "outsiders"—meaning Negroes—be admitted to the West Side units.

Alderman William H. Harvey, author of a strong FEPC proposal, calls this latest maneuver "part of a campaign to force the Chicago Housing Authority to abandon its non-discriminatory policies" in advance of building 40,000 new units with federal aid.

Landlords hungry again

TENANTS here thought last summer they had won their fight against a blanket rent increase. Now the landlords have pried the case open again.

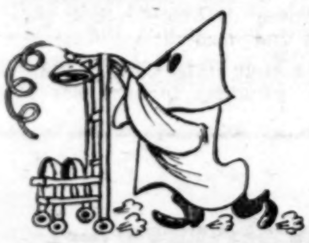
In July the Cook County Rent Advisory Board denied demands for a 45% boost. Federal Housing Expediter Tighe Woods upheld the board. But the landlords' front organization, the "Fair Rent Committee," pushed the case to an emergency federal court in Washington.

THINGS WORSE NOW: The landlords are crowing now because the court reversed the county board and Woods, ordering a new review of the evidence for an increase. A landlord spokesman says a 27% boost would "bring them up to normal."

Progressive Party officials point out that Chicago tenants are now worse off than they were last summer because of rising unemployment, especially among Negroes.

WILLIE McGEE

To live or die



FOUR years ago this month Mrs. Troy Hawkins, a middle-aged white woman of Laurel, Miss., said she had been raped by a man "with kinky hair and a T-shirt." On the strength of that description police charged the crime to Willie McGee, Negro veteran and father of four children.

Lynch mobs howled outside the court room. McGee, the jury was shown, had hair that could be called kinky; sometimes he wore a T-shirt. After two minutes of deliberation the jury pronounced him guilty. Mississippi's portable electric chair was rolled into Laurel.

The Civil Rights Congress won an appeal and a new trial. Again mobs gathered; again the guilty verdict was quick and unhesitating; again the electric chair came to Laurel. CRC won another trial. This time mobs ran the defense attorneys out of court before the case went to the jury.

Three hours before he was to have been electrocuted last June, McGee's defenders won a stay for an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. They charged violation of constitutional rights through exclusion of Negroes from the juries and imposition of lynch law in Laurel.

OBSCENITY: Last week the Supreme Court handed down a batch of rulings. It would review a case involving the interstate shipment of obscene records; it would not review the case of Willie McGee.

Under Mississippi law, McGee has a month to live after all appeal is exhausted. The CRC has asked the Supreme Court for a rehearing, is filing for a habeas corpus writ in Mississippi.

William L. Patterson, CRC executive secretary, says letters and telegrams asking Gov. Fielding Wright, Jackson, Miss., for clemency might help drive the electric chair from Laurel for a fourth time.

The next four weeks will tell whether Willie McGee will live or die.

MISSISSIPPI

Poor but honest

THE trustees of Jefferson Military College, 147-year-old preparatory school near Natchez, Miss., had a problem. Should they accept an offer by "Judge" George W. Armstrong, Texas millionaire oil man, of $50,000,000? There was a string: The school would have to teach the "supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin-American races" and to keep out Jews and Asiatics, as well as Negroes. First reports said the school would accept.

Last week, however, the trustees said "No." They had no desire to alter the school's charter, they declared. "Students of all denominations may and shall be admitted to equal advantages of a liberal education." There was no mention of Negroes.

Armstrong, piqued by the turn-down, said he'd set up an Armstrong University in Texas to carry out his ideas. He had nothing against Jews and Negroes, said this friend of Gerald L. K. Smith; he was just opposed to "racial mongrelization."

Jefferson remained poor but interdenominational.

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES: But virtue, in this case, had its rewards. All week long hundreds of letters and telegrams poured into the school congratulating the trustees. Well-wishers donated $6,000 to help pull Jefferson out of its financial straits.

Included in the gifts was $100 from the Negro Chamber of Commerce of Chicago with this note: "'This token gift has no strings tied to it except that you try faithfully to follow Christian precepts in the operation of your school."

WITCH-HUNTERS

Fit to be tried

SEVERAL times J. Parnell Thomas, former chairman and still a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has been scheduled to go on trial on charges of padding his congressional payroll and taking kick-backs from his office help. And each time the condition of Thomas' stomach became acute.

With a new trial coming up on Nov. 7, the stomach kicked up again. Thomas got himself into an Army hospital. But Federal Judge Holtzoff became annoyed. An examination was ordered. Army doctors refused to do the job; there was no reason for Thomas to be in the hospital in the first place, they said. The judge named two doctors.

HIGHBALL COUNT GOOD: They reported Thomas' highball consumption good (three before dinner), his cigar mileage average. All in all, they found, he was fit to be tried.

Thomas' major complaint: "The patient states that he has developed irritability, periods of depression occasionally with weeping, has a phobia of mixing with people, visiting the barbershop and driving an automobile."

The count ordered Thomas to stand trial Nov. 7.

THE ECONOMY

OUTLOOK FOR 1950

Bankers to jobless: Eat 'consolidation'

THE American Bankers Assn. had its annual convention in San Francisco last week. Considering the costs of atomic war preparations and of social welfare, the bankers found they could not afford both.

Press reports had them gloomy about the threat to "free economy" **(Wall St. Journal)**, cheery about the nation's general economic state **(N.Y. Times)**.

Secretary of Commerce Sawyer told them that October's 225,000 increase in unemployment was due to work stoppages rather than "any change in the level of economic activity." Secretary of the Treasury Snyder journeyed across the country to report: "This is a tremendous year." Meanwhile the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in its annual forecast, saw "a further slight reduction of economic activity" in 1950 and a slight decline in employment.

MISFIT: Top government economists, polled by the **Journal of Commerce**, were "betting on good business in 1950," but conceded it wouldn't be as good as in 1949 or 1948. The new official line, as explained by the **Journal**, is that expansion "shot ahead too rapidly" during the early post war years; "a period of consolidation is necessary to permit the country to grow into that new suit that was a few sizes too large." Consolidation and growing pains seemed to mean unemployment and a wage freeze.

Suit Sale
STYLISH STOUTS ONLY!

The government economists were confident that "no major economic test will have to be met before next year's congressional elections"; until then, the decline could be kept within "manageable proportions." They saw no need for an increase in public works or direct government "disbursements for social welfare purposes" to bolster purchasing power.

Even with "reasonably satisfactory business in 1950" unemployment would go up, the **Journal** conceded. "Top administration planners" were no longer thinking in terms of full employment. The unemployed were here to stay.

PROFITS AND PRICES UP: Third quarter profit reports showed General Motors, duPont, Westinghouse making the highest profits in history. U.S. Steel's third quarter net was higher than for the same period in 1948. Profits of 252 corporations went up 6% in the quarter.

Humbler citizens watched other statistics: chuck steak up 4c a pound; loin lamb chops up 6c; coffee up 10c.

HOUSING

Off with the roof

IN ONE hard eight-hour day Housing Expediter Tighe Woods ripped off rent ceilings in 16 areas of eight states. On another day he pried the lid off rents in 14 other areas. Then Woods rested.

He summed up the steady advance of decontrol under the 1949 federal law: rent increases approved for 352,000 units between April 1 and Sept. 30, with average monthly boosts of $7, or 19%; ending of all control on 2,268,000 units through Oct. 21.

LANDLORDS GET IDEA: Landlords took up where Woods left off. In Nebraska they mailed out notices of increases ranging from 37% to 75%. The state was ending control Nov. 1 under the local option clause of the federal law.

An Omaha landlord upped rents on 250 apartments, then said: "People have had the benefit of low rents for seven years. They ought to be satisfied with reasonable increases." Unsatisfied tenants sent out calls for help, many of them to newspapers.

Denver checked the offensive by telling Woods controls were needed to offset the severe housing shortage. New York City's local board had already banned a 15% rise. Protests from labor killed a proposal to lift controls in Missouri.

COLD COMFORT: For Progressive Party people, the rent issue sparked local campaigns. Democratic and Republican politicians were resigned. Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) told a Chicago audience: "It will be impossible to retain rent control after July 1."

People throughout the country drew little comfort from the snail's-pace federal building program: of 810,000 new units projected nationally for six years, only 140,000 were even in the planning stage. Besides, segregation and sub-standard conditions made decent shelter a priority problem in many spots. (See Chicago Dateline, page 7.)

In Minneapolis, a city board found 19,000 families living in sub-standard conditions. New York newspapers ran familiar exposes of rat-ridden slums; elsewhere the issue received little notice.

RELIGION

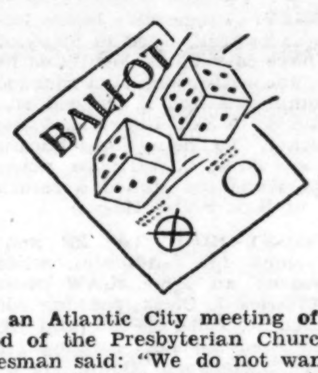
REFORMATION SUNDAY

Indulging in Bingo

ON Oct. 31, 1517, Martin Luther went to the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Germany, and nailed to the door his 95 arguments against the sale of indulgences by the Catholic Church.

Protestants throughout the country last week celebrated the anniversary of that demonstration as Reformation Sunday. In Jersey they summoned up stern Luther's fervor not only against indulgences but against the besetting sin of bingo.

Nuns in that state were passing out handbills pleading for the continued legalization of bingo since, like the ancient indulgences, its proceeds fed the needy and the Church. The bingo candidate was Democrat Elmer H. Wene. Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll had once inveighed against bingo.



At an Atlantic City meeting of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church, a spokesman said: "We do not want to mix in politics but we want our stand against gambling to be known fully."

Shaw lectures Pope

ROMAN Catholic authorities in Vienna objected to a performance of Bernard Shaw's **St. Joan**, which deals with Joan of Arc's excommunication. Shaw accused them of being "against Christ and St. Peter."

"His Holiness the Pope," he added, "should read my play and his Bible, Acts 5 and Matthew 27." The biblical passages refer to Ananias and Sapphira, how the Apostles healed sick people and were jailed by a high priest, and Judas' betrayal of Jesus.

Do you have four friends? Put them in the subscription blank on P. 11

Why not try Buchman?

Morals rearmed painlessly— and the food? Yummy!

By Honor Tracy

CAUX, SWITZERLAND

FIVE thousand people of 71 nations have come here this summer to study Moral Re-Armament, the theory of inspired democracy which, Mr. Paul Hoffman says, is the ideological counterpart of the Marshall Plan. During their stay they live in Dr. Frank Buchman's three luxury hotels—for, as is well known, it is impossible to be morally rearmed in anything else. Frank explains that, by providing material perfection, he sets your mind free to dwell on spiritual things.

In the great assembly room at Mountain House you may see people of every race, class and creed. That little woman over there is Princess Alice von Hohenzollern, as no time is lost in letting you know. These are two repentant Communists from the Ruhr, Max and Paul; they are full of praise for a kind gentleman called Kost, the General Direktor of the Ruhr Coal Board, who is paying their wages and expenses while they are here.

FORWARD TO THE ABSOLUTE: Shake hands with the daughter of the Duke of Montrose! There goes Princess Lieven: and there, Comrade Jones of the Rhondda valley. The small dark person whose face wears such a look of simple piety is Mr. Mitsui, of the Mitsui Zaibatsu, before the war a giant money clique in Japan. There is a Swedish admiral; a German chief of police; an American diplomat; and a little bevy of British generals (retired).

Catholic priests are quietly making notes, and Lutheran pastors are loudly making speeches. And Germans, Germans, everywhere, chattering in corners, wailing, criticizing, protesting. Only at meal times, when they rush to the cafeteria and munch away for dear life, does a relative silence fall.

Everything up here is a little larger than life. Smiles are wider and toothier and handshakes positively cripple. The success of M.R.A., as described, is so brilliant that one cannot understand why the world is still in such a mess. I drew the attention of the Press Officer to what looked like over-optimism in some of his handouts, and taxed him with having, on one occasion, told me a plain fib. He hung his head.

"I'm not Absolutely Honest yet," he groaned. "Sorry!"

GOD — THIS EASY WAY: Meetings are held morning and afternoon, when two or three speakers each make a statement. Every speech is doubled in German from the platform, and other languages are relayed through earphones, by courtesy of International Business Machines, Inc. In between the statements a chorus of youths and maidens, wearing a specially-designed fancy dress of folksy cut, their faces stretched in a beaming smile, sing catchy numbers like "The Good Road" and "Deutschland, unser Vaterland."

FRANK BUCHMAN
A bellyfull of good cheer

There are the usual exhibitionists, and the ex-Indian Army officers who are tired of mowing suburban lawns, and the cozy married couples ("I never feel quite so much in love with Agnes as when we've had a good fight to bring the truth to someone.") Each is warmly applauded, but what we like best is a man who has left the Communist Party. Then we rise to our feet with one accord and give him a real ovation.

Get God the Buchman way, and fix communism, settle industrial disputes, step up production and go down big with the family! It is curious that thousands of people who have been deaf to the voices of the saints and seers and martyrs all their lives, should now be stirred to their depths by a few peppy slogans, but it is so.

JAM FOR FRANK, GIRLS! In this classless society (see prospectus) there are two places to eat: the cafeteria, seating 1,000, and the dining-room, seating two hundred. The food in the cafeteria is excellent, but it is in the dining-room that you get the Meringues Chantilly. Here, too, is Frank's Table, where, surrounded by all the nobs, sits Frank himself, grinning affably like a big-hearted fish.

To get the real flavor of the thing, however, you must go and work a shift with the angels in Frank's kitchen. Girls, what you say we make a fig soufflé just for Frank's Table? Pass me that tin, labeled For Frank Only. See that cherry jam? Made especially for Frank, by the King of Siam's mother. Hurry up with the fried chicken, Frank's Table has finished soup! More cream for Frank's Table! Butter for Frank's Table! Pudding for Frank's Table! This is none of Frank's doing: it's just how these devoted ladies show their gratitude for being allowed to work for him.

SALVATION WITHOUT TEARS: Forty years have passed since Frank said "Sorry" to God for having been a materialist; and today, lying in the sun on a chaise longue and gazing dreamily at the snowy peaks of the Dent du Midi across the lake, my room filled with flowers, a bowl of grapes, peaches and pears at my elbow, I am sorely tempted to follow his example.

(Reprinted, by arrangement, from "New Statesman and Nation," London).

THE WORLD

MORALITY

Selective starvation

IN an impromptu speech last week, President Truman asserted the moral supremacy of the U.S. over all other contenders. Pleading for his Point Four program before the American Society of Civil Engineers, (in the words of the N.Y. **Times**) he "sketched out a vision of a world which . . . could live in harmony and plenty merely by elevating the standard of living of backward areas." Resources under his plan would be used "to keep the world from being hungry."

On the same day his State Dept. let it be known that the U.S., morally serene, would torpedo a UN plan to distribute farm surpluses to hungry peoples throughout the world. (U.S. warehouses, caves and "surplus" shipping are now crammed with "surplus" food).

State Dept. officials explained that they could not control the selection of countries to which surpluses would be sent. Poland, for example, might get surplus U.S. wheat and sell it "for a currency usable for buying arms."

MARSHALL PLAN

Integrate—or else

IF he succeeded it would be "the economic wonder of the decade," said the **Wall St. Journal.** The paper referred to Paul G. Hoffman on his mission to save the Marshall Plan from collapse.

PAUL HOFFMAN
A man can dream, can't he?

Hoffman went to Paris last week armed with a plan to remove all restrictions of trade, currency, politics, history and tradition; to build out of Europe's ashes one great "integrated" bloc of customers, 270,000,000 strong, as readily available as the 150,000,000 customers in the U.S. The **Wall St. Journal** sighed at the glittering goal but found the outlook for such integration "so bleak" it was tempted "at once to dismiss it as a quixotic dream."

To the ministers of the eight nations represented in the Marshall Plan Council, Hoffman carried a veiled warning. While he told them how vital it was for them to "integrate," officials in Washington flatly stated that Congress would not be asked for another Marshall Plan appropriation unless economic union were agreed upon by January.

THE COLONIES: The reaction of the ministers to Hoffman's lecture was described as "generally favorable." But they knew that to create an "economically unified" Europe would transform western Europe into a U.S. colony. The removal of protective economic barriers would open the west European market to the nation that could produce the most at lowest prices—the U.S. European industry would shrivel; the continent would be a dumping ground for U.S. agricultural surpluses.

British Chancellor of the Exchequer Cripps said the Hoffman plan was fine for France, Italy, Luxembourg and Belgium. As far as Britain was concerned, he said, its economy could not be integrated with Europe's in any way that would interfere with its leadership of the sterling area.

PHILIPPINES

The 3-man race for the presidency

Ah, those were the days!

Jose P. Laurel, Philippine presidential candidate, is shown above in a 1943 picture clasping the hand of General Waji, director of the Japanese Military Administration of the Philippines. Laurel was Waji's puppet. Now he says he has a pipeline to Washington too.

ON the street-corners of Manila the beggars clustered. All through the city there were empty lots littered with debris from air raids of five and six years ago. Almost half the town was unemployed.

But the gutters were crowded with sleek U.S. limousines. Cabarets were open and flourishing; hotels and government palaces glittered. Politicos paraded the streets in splendid sharkskin suits. The presidential campaign in the Philippines was winding up for the vote on Nov. 8.

THREE OF A KIND: There were three candidates and only one issue: which of the three was more corrupt. The incumbent Elpidio Quirino had succeeded to the office when Emanuel Roxas, Japanese collaborator, died in 1948. Quirino, himself, had signed the constitution under which the Japanese puppet state was governed.

Lately he has insisted on ruling without the Legislature, still using wartime powers granted him in 1941. He has been charged with conniving with gem smugglers and padding his expense account: $2,500 for a bed; $1,350 for a perfume cabinet; $200 for an altar.

DEEP IN MY HEART: He has claimed U.S. support, exhibiting his elaborate reception in Washington, his parade up Broadway. But Ambassador Myron M. Cowen cut the ground from under him by indicating the U.S. was impartial and would keep the islands on its dole not matter who got in.

Quirino stubbornly insisted: "I know, deep in my heart, President Truman would prefer me. . . ." He followed up by pressing a Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine for Asia.

Gravy contenders

Some in Quirino's Liberal Party have shifted to Sen. Jose Avelino. Avelino formerly supported Quirino but once claimed a share of the top gravy which Quirino thought disproportionate. Quirino had him expelled from the Senate. Avelino tried vainly to have Quirino impeached.

Quirino's serious rival is Jose Laurel, who headed the Japanese puppet state. Mainly a landlord's man, Laurel has branched out with promises to all. He capitalizes on anti-U.S. sentiment by a record that is filled with fervent, bitter nationalism. On the other hand he boasts that the U.S. will increase its aid if he is elected.

COMING AND GOING: Unmentioned by any of the three were the issues described as crucial to the average Filipino by Amado Hernandez, president of the Philippine Congress of Industrial Organizations:

"The Philippines need machinery, tractors and industrial equipment but Washington talks of sending arms and munitions to kill peasant insurgents." Filipinos, Hernandez said, must supply "raw materials which we sell at U.S. dictated prices and buy back in the

(Continued on following page)

Jennings Perry

Let's not be coy

MR. VISHINSKY is going down to Washington to speak with Mr. Acheson. Note well how that is: **V goes to A.** Good can come of it.

How much good will come of it depends largely on how we look at it. Already the chirky* section of our press is looking at it as another U.S. "victory" in the cold war. That is the stupid look. Vishinsky is not going to Acheson in sackcloth with ashes on his head.

True, he may be going to Acheson because Acheson will not come to him, knowing full well what face the chirky press will put on it. In that case our crowing will be even more infantile. The event, however, still will have promise if Acheson plays to the field instead of to the gallery.

IN his inaugural address on the third Thursday of January last, President Truman perceived and declared that

> "Above all else, our people desire, and are determined to work for, peace on earth—a just and lasting peace—based on genuine agreement, freely arrived at by equals."

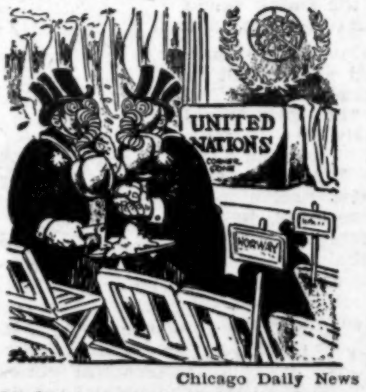
The Vishinsky call offers us another chance to get on with the desired work on these terms.

Vishinsky is supposed to be willing to talk about the big differences—the future of Germany, the atom, Greece, Korea, China. Agreement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. under these heads is essential to anything like tranquillity. All know this. We can now play coy for the sake of a little vanity, or we can sit down and talk like a grown man.

ALL these things are mutual problems and there is no secret about them. We publish our debt and our deficit. We know, on the other hand, what it is costing Russia to maintain the defense establishment she thinks necessary under the circumstances—how much her plans for internal development are hampered by our embargo on goods her economy could use.

Nobody is winning the cold war. Nobody can win it. Nobody is going to "surrender." To pretend that every attempt to parley, every gesture of accommodation, is a sign of "defeat" for one side, of "triumph" for the other, is to ride false pride toward the precipice.

We have done our part of this fatuous pretending. When Moscow initiated talks to end the grievous Berlin blockade we headlined a "back down"—as the result of ""firmness," of the threat of the Atlantic alliance. But it was our Berliners who were cold and desperate, our airlift that was costing millions; and the Atlantic alliance then as now threatened no more than to increase the destitution of western Europe. When we promote our new-found friend Tito to the Security Council we preen our feathers — though what we have done is a small thing damaging mainly to our own word.



Chicago Daily News

"At least we got it laid before a war started."

WE have fallen into a bad habit of slamming our door after we have proclaimed it open. We have opened our door again—an inch—by President Truman's implied pledge at the UN cornerstone-laying to consider another than the Baruch plan for chaining the atom bomb if a better comes along.

I do not pretend to know what Mr. Vishinsky means to propose to Mr. Acheson. I do perceive and declare that it is time for us to stop dancing away, to give our self-righteousness a rest, to recognize an equal when we see one—and with him sincerely seek to arrive at some genuine agreement for peace without worrying a minute about whose eye is wiped by whom.

*Chirk (obsolete except in Scotland): To make a strident, creaking or squeaking noise, as a door, a frog, or a mouse.—Webster.

(Continued from preceding page)

form of finished products, again at their prices. This spells joblessness and misery for our people."

The election outcome meant little to progressives. Many could not vote anyhow since they were in the hills with the Hukbalahap guerrillas, rounding out seven years of war: four of them against the Japanese, three against a "free" Filipino government bound hand and foot to the U.S.

INDONESIA

A sort of a republic

IN 1945 the fight for independence waged by the Indonesian guerrillas against U.S.-equipped Dutch troops stirred the world's imagination and sympathy. In four years the Indonesian independence movement has changed its character: Left Socialists and Communists, once its core, have been driven to the hills, imprisoned, executed.

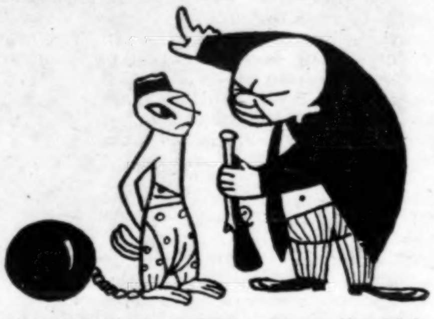
Last week, after ten weeks of haggling over transfer of sovereignty in Holland's capital, The Hague, the Kingdom of the Netherlands promised "a beautiful future" for the Republic of the United States of Indonesia which would "cooperate . . . on the basis of voluntariness and equal status with equal rights." The cooperation would take place within a Netherlands Indonesian Union, described as a partnership, but giving Indonesia considerably less sovereignty than that obtained by India from the British.

ORDER WILL BE KEPT: The new republic pledged recognition of private property, guaranteed Dutch investments, and agreed to pay a $1, 131, 587,-947 debt. The Dutch agreed to withdraw troops within one year; meanwhile they will train and equip an Indonesian army to preserve "internal order."

U. S. axe to grind

The Indonesian settlement reflected the urgencies of U.S. anti-communist policy in the Far East. Washington has pressured Dutch and Indonesians alike to come to terms. It wants anti-communists to fight communists, not each other.

In pursuit of that policy the State Dept. floated some trial balloons last week. From Paris, an American official dangled before the eyes of Asia's hungry millions the promise of a "junior Marshall Plan" for Asia. Congress would be asked next summer, it was said, for $1,000,000,000 to stop communism in Asia.



JAPANESE DILEMMA: From the Philippines, President Elpido Quirino announced that a preliminary conference of his proposed "non-communist" union for southern Asia would meet early next year. (India's Prime Minister Nehru said in San Francisco that India would not join.)

From Washington came an inspired report that the U.S. and Britain have decided to take up the question of a Japanese peace treaty as quickly as possible. They were faced with difficult "legal" questions as to whether this could be done without participation of Russia and the New China.

Washington's policy of building up Japan has alarmed the U.S.'s anti-communist allies in the Far East. They fear Japanese competition and are uneasy over U.S. use of Japan as a military base.

PEACE PARTISANS

Call to Italy

OUTSIDE Rome's basilica of St. John Lateran, the Pope's personal church, the Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, told 30,000 Italians that the "call for peace" could be won. But to win, he added, Italy's voice must be added to that of the Soviet Union, "the countries from Poland to Bulgaria" and the new China.

Dr. Johnson was in Rome to attend the meeting of the 82-man committee of the Partisans for Peace, continuation group organized after the Paris Peace Congress. Others who attended included Frederic Joliot-Curie, Communist head of France's Atomic Energy Commission; Pietro Nenni, leader of Italy's left-wing (majority) Socialists; Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, and Aslan K. Humbaraci, Turkish newspaperman who recently resigned from the N.Y. Times in protest against its distortion and suppression of his dispatches. Nobody came from the U. S.

Newspaper reports played up the protests of Yugoslav delegates who, having been elected to congress membership in Paris, were refused admission in Rome on the ground that Marshal Tito had joined the war camp and the delegates were loyal to him. Confining their remarks to positive peace statements, delegates from the 24 countries represented in Rome indicated no sympathy for the Yugoslavs.

Britain: sanity preferred

In London John Wood, vice-president of the National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish Area), told a gathering of 1,000 peace partisans from 400 British organizations: "I believe no British miner or other conscientious worker will produce any materials for such a war (atomic war against the Soviet Union), and the sooner the warmongers understand that, the better." Wood called "madhouse economics" the Labor government's freezing of $14-a-week wages while spending $42 a year on armaments for every man, woman and child in Britain.

Observers from abroad included Mrs. Feiga Illanit, Israeli Parliament member, and Alexei Surkov, Soviet poet. Konni Zilliacus, independent Labor MP, was a featured peace speaker.

Before they departed, delegates called at the U. S. Embassy to demand removal of the B-29 bomber bases in England.

ITALY

Peasants vs. pacts

IN Crotone, Italy, last week, several hundred landless peasants squatted on private farmland which was lying fallow and demanded the right to till it. Italian police fired on them, killed three, wounded 12. Among the four most critically wounded were two women.

Within hours, Italy's General Confederation of Labor had called on its 5,000,000 members to strike briefly in protest. For ten hours Italy was gripped by a general strike—the first in 14 months.

Next day landowners and the Peasants' Union talked turkey. The peasants won the right to till fallow land and other concessions. The government "regretted" that violence was necessary before action was taken.

WANDERING SOCIALISTS: For 17 months Premier Alcide de Gasperi had been patching his regime. He tried to hold the peasants with promises of land reform; his cabinet together with an amalgam of U.S. pacts and dollars.

Last week peasants and cabinet members alike were straining Italy's patchwork seams. In the Socialist Party, split into a left-wing majority cooperating with the Communists and a right-wing minority cooperating with Marshall Plan domination of Italy, pressure for party unity increased; Socialist right-wingers in de Gasperi's cabinet resigned. Novelist Ignazio Silone and Guiseppe Romita maneuvered to build up their "independent" Socialist group which would cooperate neither with de Gasperi nor with the Communists.

•

Timorous historian

EDUCATION officials in several cities were quaking in their academic boots after Houston, Tex., revealed "socialistic propaganda" in its civics textbook, **American Government.** A passage in the volume by Dr. Frank A. Magruder hinted that the U.S. post office and social security system weren't entirely capitalistic.

Last week Dr. Magruder, retired Oregon State College political scientist, hastened to explain. He had "no interest in communism," opposed revolution. "I even think our own revolution never accomplished much."

In Chicago, School Superintendent Harold C. Hunt promised the **Tribune** a complete investigation of the book. Los Angeles said its "revised" edition wouldn't offend.

United Nations report

The war on colonialism is very much alive

GUARDIAN UN Correspondence

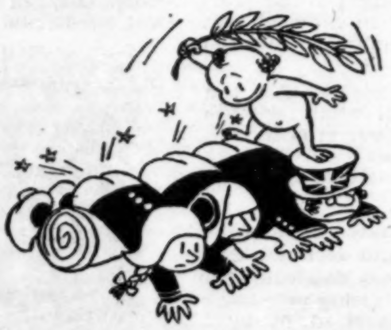
LAKE SUCCESS

LAST week's Dutch-Indonesian agreement for a United States of Indonesia—which does not mean real independence, but marks the end of naked colonial rule by one of the most oppressive exploiting powers—was seen here as a victory for UN. Had UN not existed, the Dutch would not have given way as far as they did.

The struggle against colonialism may seem to proceed slowly, but in the UN it is very much alive. The improvement over the post-World War I period is clearly seen in UN's Trusteeship system, replacing the League of Nations Mandates system under which the native peoples had no direct recourse to the League. Trustee powers must report every year to UN on their administration and preparation of the peoples for self-government, and UN has the right to send supervisory missions.

BUSTED TRUST: At present there are ten Trust territories under UN: in Africa—Cameroons and Togoland (French trust), Cameroons, Togoland and Tanganyika (British) and Ruanda-Urundi (Belgian); in the Pacific—New Guinea and Nauru (Australian), Western Samoa (New Zealand), Marshall, Mariana and Carolina Islands (U.S.).

Although they agreed to put these lands under UN Trusteeship, Australia, Belgium, Britain and France have—under the pretext of saving money and simplifying administration—merged their "sacred trusts" with adjacent colonies by the device of "administrative unions." These unions have become in fact political unions, depriving the peoples under Trust of the special improvements provided for them by UN in education, welfare and preparation for self-government. The colonial powers fear that their own colonial peoples might ask to be treated like the peoples under Trust, thus threatening their whole colonial system.



By destroying the distinction between Trust and colony, the mergers have made separate administering power reports on administration of Trust territories impossible. Thus, in practice, UN supervision is abolished.

OPEN UP! When the General Assembly last year asked the Trusteeship Council to study the question, little was achieved—the Council being composed of an equal number of colonial and non-colonial powers. When votes were taken the Council was often deadlocked six to six—a split less publicized but as paralyzing as those between East and West in the Security Council.

Last week when the 59-member Trusteeship Committee examined the situation in the Trust territories, a coalition of Asiatic, Arab, Latin American and Slav countries administered a defeat to the four colonial powers. The committee approved a resolution submitted by Guatemala and Cuba, whereby administrative powers merging Trust territories with colonies must open the whole of the unified territory to UN supervision.

As a result the administrative powers, instead of avoiding supervision of their 15,000,000 people under Trust, must now undergo UN inspection of the life of 53,000,000 people in their colonies.

WHO'S MALEVOLENT? Before the decisive vote, the colonial powers gave vent to their anger for several days. British delegate Martin said the Trusteeship Council was often made a platform of "ignorance and malevolence." French delegate Olivier Lapie said the committee was trying to rewrite UN's Trusteeship agreements and Charter.

But the vote was 38 to 9, with the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. ranged against seven colonial nations plus Canada and Greece. Replying to British delegates' complaints after the vote, Soviet delegate A. A. Soldatov said the administering powers had supported policies of "prejudice and malevolence" toward the inhabitants of the Trust territories.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

How to buy eye glasses

By Sidney Margolius

A NUMBER of readers have complained about high prices charged for glasses. "Will you list some honest opticians where one can buy glasses at an honest price?" one pleads.

Aside from obvious differences in cost of frames, there is a wide range of prices for filling the same prescription.

The variations are sometimes legitimate. But differences also occur simply because one optician has higher overhead and advertising expenses or sells on credit, which generally raises the price for his cash customers too, or simply wants to make more money. In any case, you have as much right to compare prices on glasses as on a new coat or sofa.

MUST HAVE FACTS: But there are facts you must know and questions to ask. You must have some clue to whether you're getting first or second-quality lenses. First-quality lenses have a high polish, the optical center exactly in dead center, and are free of imperfections like chips or bubbles. You can't tell the difference between the grades, so you must ask the optician to specify whether the price is for first or second. If you have him fill the prescription and he claims to have given you first-quality, ask him to put it on your receipt and show you the envelope in which your lenses came from the optical company.

The envelope will generally state the grade. American Optical and Bausch & Lomb envelopes may not state "first quality," but opticians say these generally can be considered high-quality lenses. Other lenses which have good quality reputations include Virginia, Tillyer, Orthogon and Shur-On.

TIPS ON TYPES: This department does not imply that second-quality lenses are never satisfactory. Certainly first quality is preferable and in some cases vital. All we can do is give you a basis for comparing prices.

Another specification affecting price is whether the lenses are the toric type, with the outside curve generally standard and only the inside ground, or the corrected-curve lenses, specially ground to prescription on both sides and therefore more costly. Whether corrected-curve lenses are necessary is much argued among optical men.

However, if corrected curve lenses have been prescribed, there are at least three ways to insure getting them. The name is a partial clue. Among leading brands are Tillyer, Orthogon, Wide-Site and Bon-Vue. You can also ask the optician to show you the difference between lenses sold you as as corrected-curve and the toric type. You can return to the prescribing oculist to determine that you actually got corrected-curve.

CHEAP READING GLASSES: We have also been asked whether cheap reading glasses are harmful. Most opticians and oculists insist they are. In fact, their sale without eye examination has been banned in some states. The desirable effect of eye glasses is not just to let the wearer see, but to have him see with maximum efficiency. Moreover, an examination may reveal the necessity of other treatment than just spectacles.

Obviously, we cannot list reasonably-priced opticians throughout the country. However, if you live in the New York area or have occasion to visit New York, you will find reasonable prices at these sources (always with the reservation that you yourself will insist on knowing what kind of lenses you are getting at the price quoted):

Pildes, 80 Nassau St.; Rueff Bros., 30 W. 24th St.; Rich Optical Service, 1551 Broadway; Mutual Optical Plan, 40 W. 42d St.; Optical Membership Plan, 11 W. 42d St.; S. J. Ausibel, 625 Lexington Av.; Vogue Opticians, 147 Fourth Av. In Philadelphia it would be wise to compare prices with those offered by Consumers Services Cooperative, 1001 Bailey Bld.

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Reading and thinking

'The Vital Center' is all hollow

By Sebastian Barr

PARDON me for laughing, folks, but I've just been reading in a column by Walter Lippmann where he says he hardly knows which candidate to vote for in the New York senatorial election—Herbert Lehman or John Foster Dulles—because both are "vital center" men. Since he's writing for a Republican paper, Lippmann finally decides he's going to vote for Dulles, the Republican. What a surprise!

THE RICH JOKE: But what makes the joke really rich is that **The Vital Center** is the title of the new book by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., in which he carries the torch for what he terms the "independent left." Calling Dulles a member of the "vital center" or "independent left" is the most devastating criticism I have seen of this pussyfooting book.

The "vital center" and the Americans for Democratic Action, which is Schlesinger's outfit, are one and the same thing, and the worst name you can call a member of the ADA is a communist. Recently some politician tried it and was promptly sued by the ADA for defamation of character.

After writing a good book—**The Age of Jackson**—and moving into a Harvard professorship, Schlesinger became an authority on the Communist Party for **Life** magazine and the **Saturday Review of Literature**—both, apparently, "independent left" magazines.

PARTIALLY IMPARTIAL: The Schlesingers, however, are nothing if not impartial and objective, so **The Vital Center** criticizes both the Right and the Left. You are foolish and naughty boys, sometimes, he says to American imperialists, and if you're not careful you'll spoil a good thing; You're the brood of the devil spawned in hell, he says to American Communists, and if you get what's coming to you it's your own fault. How impartial can a man get?

Although Schlesinger pretends to be objective, he is not above skulduggery. Thus he speaks of "the revelations of Whittaker Chambers" as though they were facts rather than allegations to be taken with a dose of salts. He also states flatly that the Communists wanted the passage of the notorious Mundt-Nixon bill "with its serious implications for civil liberties."

That's the reason, he claims, that the Communists organized the Committee to Defeat the Mundt bill and staged a march on Washington. They hoped, says Schlesinger, to annoy the good and patient senators so much that they would pass the bill just for spite, and that "would give Henry Wallace a new and appealing issue." For such reasoning you have to be a Harvard professor, yet!

BREAK FOR TRUMAN: He has many words to "expose" the failures of the Left, but none for its achievements. He has only praise for the Truman Administration, no criticism for its broken promises. Reading his book, you might think that FDR's New Deal and Truman's "Fair Deal" were rooted in the same economic vacuum.

Schlesinger's "independent left" is supposed to revitalize American liberalism, but all **The Vital Center** amounts to is a blanket endorsement of an imperialist foreign policy, a subtle evasion of the anti-democratic consequences here at home, and an attempt to smear the Progressive Party, ridicule the Left and outlaw the Communists.

The Vital Center might be defined as a small island of opportunism entirely surrounded by hot air.

THE VITAL CENTER. By Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. Beacon Press. $3.

Pots & pocketbooks

Candy is handy

By Charlotte Parks

NOW that so many girls are knitting Argyle socks for the boy friend, how about another old-fashioned stunt—making candy for him? It used to be a tradition before sugar got rationed and made us forget our recipes for home-made fudge.

And how about keeping those wandering kids at home? Boy scouts will be strong for making this candy for themselves. The fancy shops have still forgotten to mark down their prices in relation to the cost of sugar.

Potato Fondant

Boil a good sized potato. Cut it in slices if you want to cook it in the shortest time. When it is cooked, mash until absolutely smooth. Add a heaping tablespoon of butter (or a substitute) and one teaspoon vanilla extract. Stir in all the confectioner's sugar it will take to mold into small, firm balls—about a teaspoonful to a ball. (One potato will take a little less than a pound of confectioner's sugar. Be absolutely sure it's confectioner's sugar.)

You may add a tablespoon or so of cocoa if you want that flavor; then there are a hundred variations. You can top with a piece of nut meat or add fresh grated or dried coconut either to the white or chocolate mixture.

VARIATIONS ON THEME: One nice variation is to mold into round balls and roll them in a mixture of half cocoa and cinnamon, then artistically punch with a toothpick to imitate the genuine spud itself. Lay the finished candy on waxed paper and you have only the mixing bowl to wash.

Another idea is to make the candy in thin layers, one white, flavored with a few drops of peppermint, another mixed with chopped nuts and flavored with maple flavoring, and the third chocolate. Roll tightly in waxed paper and leave in refrigerator for half an hour or longer. Then cut in suitable slices. This candy causes all sorts of flattering comment and is easy on the pocketbook.

Tutti Frutti

A wonderful tutti frutti roll is made by adding to the white or chocolate mix white raisins and finely chopped candied fruits or peel. Use rum flavoring extract (or a touch of the real thing) and add a pinch of cinnamon. Roll in finely chopped nut meats and then slice. Close your eyes and you'll think it cost $1.25 a pound.

Calendar for progressives

NEW YORK

Gospel Train, presented by Paul Robeson, benefit of Independent Citizens Committee to Re-elect Ben Davis, Sunday, Nov. 6, 2 p.m., Rockland Palace, 8th Av. and 155th St. Featuring Brownie McGhee, guitarist, Two Gospel Keys of Atlanta, Harmonizing Four of Richmond, Va. Admission $1.20.

●

Dinner in honor of Andrei Vishinsky given 7 p.m. Thurs., Nov. 10, by Council for American-Soviet Friendship, Starlight Roof, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Paul Robeson, Corliss Lamont, Prof. Colston Warne, Dr. Harry Ward to speak. $10 per person. Contact Council at 114 E. 32d St., MU 3-2080.

●

World Youth Day Rally for Peace mass demonstration Fri. evening, Nov. 11, at Pythian Temple, 70th St. and B'way. Meeting welcomes delegates from Budapest Youth Festival. Tickets 75c at Welcome Home Comm., 144 Bleecker St., AL 4-9822.

●

Five new documentary films, auspices N.Y. State Council Arts, Sciences, Professions; Museum of Modern Art, Thurs., Nov. 10, 8:45 p.m. Subs obtainable at 49 W. 44th St., MU 7-2161.

●

CHICAGO

Russian movie, "Stone Flower," brilliant color film, special showing Fri., Nov. 11, 8 p.m., under auspices Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Peoples' Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av. Admission 50c.

●

34th Ward Progressive Party Social, Nov. 12, 8:30 p.m., 2432 North Sawyer. Meet Jack Conroy, Nelson Ahlgren and Gwendolyn Brooks.

●

Salute to Marcantonio meeting sponsored by Illinois Progressive Party, Nov. 18, 8 p.m., Chicago Coliseum, 15th & Wabash. Speakers: Vito Marcantonio, Henry Wallace, Paul Robeson, Dalton Trumbo. Curtis MacDougall, chairman. Contact local PP for more information.

The Supreme Court and the 'separate but equal' formula

Will they knock the props out from under jimcrow?

THE entire legal foundation upon which U. S. jimcrow laws have been erected may be knocked from under them—if the U. S. Supreme Court rules favorably upon a historic case to be argued before it in December when Justice Douglas returns.

The case: In 1942 Elmer W. Henderson, a field representative of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices, was traveling on business from Washington, D. C., to Birmingham, Ala., on the Southern Railway. For him, as for other Negroes on the Southern Railway, there were two tables in the dining car, nearest the kitchen, separated from the others by a humiliating curtain. But on that trip Mr. Henderson could not even eat there; the two jimcrow tables were being used by whites.

Special

This is a GUARDIAN Special, an article of wide interest affecting a large section of the American people, researched, checked and written by our own staff members. We will in almost every future issue carry special articles on America's people, resources, riches and privations. We welcome suggestions from our readers.

Mr. Henderson took the case to court in a suit against the railroad and the Interstate Commerce Commission, challenging the whole jimcrow pattern of "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes. A lower court, in a divided opinion, ruled against him. Now, after seven years, it is before the highest court.

The issue: "Separate but equal" is a phrase that has burned into U. S. Negroes like a brand for half a century. It is a hypocrisy clothed with the force of law; under it jimcrow has been enforced with a policeman's club and a sheriff's gun ever since it was first propounded by a U. S. Supreme Court in 1896.

"IF THIS BE SO": In that year's famous Plessy v. Ferguson case, the Supreme Court blandly dismissed the contention that "the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority." It added contemptuously: ". . . If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it."

ADA LOIS SIPUEL
$28,000 for a school for one

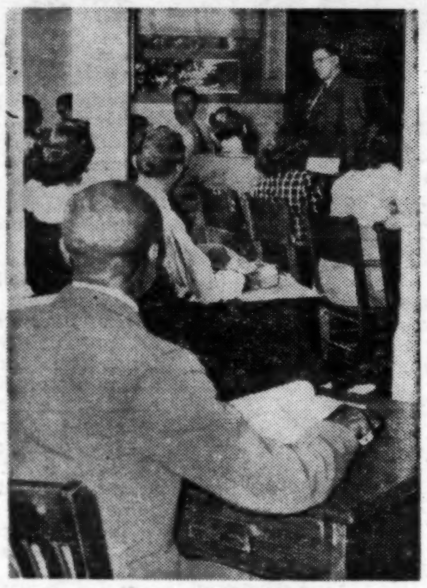
No greater wrong had been done in the name of the Constitution since an earlier Supreme Court ruled in 1857 that "a Negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." The decision set the precedent for enforced segregation, and established the "separate but equal" formula for circumventing the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. But in a famous dissent, Justice John M. Harlan, a Kentuckian, said:

"Our Constitution is color blind. . . . We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of 'equal' accommodations . . . will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done."

EQUAL INEQUALITY: Now, for the first time in 50 years, the issue is squarely before the Supreme Court again, with the Department of Justice, strangely, supporting the plaintiff in a suit against an agency of the United States.

U. S. Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman argues in a brief filed with the court that the "separate but equal" dictum "should now be re-examined and overruled" as a "Constitutional anachronism which no longer deserves a place in our law."

"Equal facilities," says the brief, "if separate, are rarely ever equal, even in a physical sense. In most situations they have been used to cloak glaring inequalities. And the very idea of separate facilities, or separate rights, is in itself a negation of the full and complete possession of privileges and immunities of citizenship. . . . In our view, 'separate but equal' is as much a contradiction in terms as 'black but white.' . . . The phrase 'equal rights' means the same rights."



HOW IT WORKS
G. W. McLaurin, 54, a retired professor, was ordered by the University of Oklahoma Regents to be admitted to the university law school on a "segregation basis." He was seated alone in an anteroom adjoining the regular classroom. He was the first Negro ever to attend the university.

Even the curtain that shields the jimcrow tables from the others in a Southern Railway diner was seen in the brief as a symbol; it "exposes, naked and unadorned, the caste system which segregation manifests and fosters."

LEGAL FICTION: Nowhere has the "separate but equal" formula worked more harm than in Dixie's public school system. Seventeen southern states and the District of Columbia enforce school segregation by law. Few of them are able to maintain one school system to match those in northern states; none has been able to keep up two.

Whites and Negroes alike suffer from the inadequacies. In 1947 the Journal of Negro Education published a survey of southern school systems. The conclusion: in not one southern state "is the legal fiction of 'separate but equal' educational opportunities for Negro students achieved."

IT MOVES SLOWLY: Some ten years ago the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People began chipping away at school segregation by taking test cases to court. It has won some notable victories, but the pace has been slow.

Many a federal court has ruled that in the absence of other facilities, Negroes must be admitted to "white" schools. One U. S. District Court in California, in a case involving segregation of Mexican students, went further than most. It held that even when separate facilities are available, segregation in itself constitutes inequality.

Dixie states have circumvented court rulings by maintaining the fiction of "equal" facilities, and by a Regional Compact under which Negroes are offered training in schools outside their own states.

SEGREGATION MADNESS: The lengths to which some states will go to preserve jimcrow were demonstrated in the now famous case of Ada Lois Sipuel, who applied to the University of Oklahoma Law School in 1946. A year later the Supreme Court ordered that she be admitted "forthwith" in the absence of other facilities.

The state dodged the order by establishing overnight a makeshift "law school" for Negroes in the state capitol library. Miss Sipuel refused to enroll there and continued her court fight. For more than a year the new "law school" remained studentless, although a staff of instructors and clerical workers was on the state pay-roll. Later one Negro did enroll. It had cost the state $28,000 to maintain a "school" to train one student.

Currently some 30 Negro students have been admitted to the University of Oklahoma Law School, but they are required to sit behind signs: "Reserved for Colored."

IS IT DAWN? Court suits to compel better educational facilities for Negroes are pending or threatened in most southern states today. They are having the effect of winning some improvements in state-controlled Negro schools. New construction totaling $25,000,000 is going on at nine of them; similar improvements at a dozen others are in the blueprint stage. In at least eight southern states Negro students have been admitted to "lily-white" state universities, but their numbers have been small and the jimcrow wall has not been breached.

Southern Negro educators are almost unanimous in opposition to continued segregation; their aim is for total integration of the school system.

The present case before the Supreme Court, if it is won, will overthrow the whole Dixie pattern and outlaw legal segregation.

Question: Did John think?

While the Dept. of Justice in a Supreme Court brief admits the existence of "naked and unadorned" discrimination against Negroes in the U.S., its own "investigators" and those of other government departments continue to persecute as "disloyal" Americans who take any stand against jimcrow.

Here is a letter the GUARDIAN received last week from Kenneth F. Haas, a University of Missouri student:

I HAVE read stories indicating that some people equate opposition to jimcrow with disloyalty, and always thought they were hooey. But two hours ago I was called on the phone by a "special investigator" for the Air Force named Falkenbush, and this conversation took place about a former room-mate of mine who has received a reserve Air Force commission through R. O. T. C.:

FALKENBUSH: Would you recommend John's character and devotion to our form of government?

HAAS: I certainly would.

F: Was John a member of a Wallace club or any such group?

H: Quite the contrary. I **know** that he was **not**. John was probably a Truman Democrat.

F: Did John think there were groups in this country which are discriminated against?

H: John was a Catholic but I don't think he felt he was discriminated against. However, we often discussed the Negro question, particularly as it affects the University of Missouri. As an intelligent person, John recognized that some groups in this country **are** discriminated against. After all, no Negro has ever attended Missouri University.

F: Then John did think there was discrimination in this country?

H: As I said, he recognized the fact that such exists, as we all do.

F: Yes.

H: But he was no "fanatic" on the subject.

F: May I come to your home and question you further?

Apparently it is **official** Air Force philosophy that opposition to jimcrow is disloyal. Throughout the fantastic conversation the words, "It is later than you think," kept occurring to me.

RAY C THOMAS
1758 S 13TH ST
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2-26